

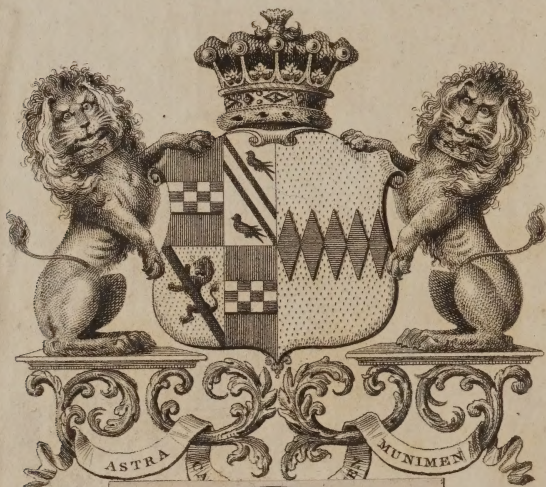


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THE  
MANNERS  
AND  
CUSTOMS  
OF THE  
*ROMANS.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

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T H E





T H E  
M A N N E R S and C U S T O M S  
O F T H E  
R O M A N S.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N.

**T**O consider the Roman Empire in its beginning, one may say, that it arose out of nothing. It was at first only an handful of shepherds, fugitive slaves, and robbers, who sought to avoid the punishment of their crimes. As they were despised in consequence by their neighbours, they were reduced to employ stratagem and violence in order to marry their daughters. It is however to this small number of adventurers, under a leader of conduct and resolution, that this vast empire owes its origin.

Such a beginning was too obscure not to disgust the natural haughtiness of the Romans. They therefore endeavoured to disguise it, and after the example of the Greeks, substituted the *Marvellous*; chusing rather to owe the birth of their first King to the amorous stealths of the God Mars, than not to be related in some manner to the divinity, and conceiving that kindred

## INTRODUCTION.

to the God of war would render them more formidable. It is highly probable that they did not invent the fable of the divine extraction of Romulus and Remus, till long after their time ; for it would have gained very little credit with their cotemporaries.

It is not easy to believe, that the Romans formed their system for aggrandizing themselves in these weak beginnings : Or did the example of their founder, solely intent upon extending his little territory, inspire them with that idea ? It is probable, that his maxims founded in good policy, seemed to those who introduced the republican government highly proper for seconding their ambitious scheme, which Romulus first designed, and his successors had neglected. The latter acting only according to their different geniusses and particular views, did not enter into a plan of policy, that was not fully unravelled and perfectly understood till under the Commonwealth. For omitting to tread in the steps of Romulus, they formed, during the space of two hundred and forty years, only a very small state, like the rest of the little states of Italy. Perhaps also the Romans partly owed their system for aggrandizing their empire to the high hopes, which their augurs and auspices had made them conceive from the foundation of Rome ; for they promised them no less than the empire of the world, which they assured them was to be of eternal duration. From all these facts it results, that Rome very early had formed to herself a plan of government, as appears from the maxims constantly observed as long as the Commonwealth subsisted ; a plan from which, neither the changes made in the form of the government,

ment, nor the different kind of magistrates created, ever made her depart. Adversity itself served only to augment the constancy and resolution of the Romans, inviolably attached at such times to the maxim of never treating with the enemy. This passion for aggrandizing themselves had taken such deep root in the hearts of these haughty republicans, that the conquest of one country only enflamed their desire to conquer others.

Polyb.  
Frag c.  
69.

I.  
*The Romans refused Pyrrhus and Perseus peace after their victories over them.*

The policy first employed by Rome, surpassed any thing that could be expected from a people so gross as they were in their manners: for what could be more wisely imagined in such weak beginnings, than to make their first victories augment their forces, by obliging the conquered people to incorporate themselves with the victors, and artfully to call in religion to render both less savage, and make them relish laws proper to form them for obedience and good government? If the Kings who succeeded Romulus had followed his excellent Maxims, they would have carried their conquests farther: but the Commonwealth soon knew how to cultivate those first seeds of policy, which always supplied her with assured resources. Covering their excessive desire of rule under the specious outside of officious amity and good-will, those ambitious republicans had the art to improve what passed amongst their neighbours to their own advantage: and if differences arose between them, they never failed to interpose their mediation, joining always the weaker side to reduce the stronger, and thereby preparing the way for subjecting it in the sequel. Rome in this manner concealed her secret views under the veil of generosity and justice: but she threw off

II.  
*Policy of the first Romans founded in violence.*



that disguise, as soon as she perceived herself sufficiently powerful alone for the execution of her ambitious projects, and shewed that the outside of justice with which she adorned herself, had no other source than her want of power.

Polyb.  
Vol. III  
Frag. c.  
118.

What Polybius tells us of the difference between the Carthaginians and King Massinissa concerning some districts of land, which they agreed to refer to the decision of the Roman People, is an authentick testimony of this truth; the following are the author's own terms. The cause of the Carthaginians was always bad in the judgment of the Roman People; not because they wanted good reasons to support it, but because the judges thought it for their interest to

Dion. Hal.  
l. 11. c. 12.  
Liv. l. 3.  
Vell. Pat.  
l. 1. c. 12.

judge so. The Roman People had shewn the same spirit long before, in adjudging lands in dispute between the Ardeates and Aricini to themselves, whom those people had chose to arbitrate between them. And lastly, the destruction of Carthage, a barbarous and cruel piece of policy, leaves it beyond all doubt, that Rome observed justice no farther than as it suited her interests. It was also from a spirit of policy, and not the sense of humanity, that she made it a law to herself at first, to lessen the taxes of the provinces she conquered: but her real end was to make her rule appear gentle, in order to allure neighbouring states, and to prevent by that moderation the revolts that might have been excited in newly subjected provinces.

Tac. l. 2.

Nothing shews better the genius of her policy, than what she did after having avenged herself upon Philip King of Macedonia, who had assisted Hannibal. She affected to publish in the Isthmian Games, where all Greece was assembled, that the Roman People reinstated all the

Polyb.  
Frag. c. 9.

## INTRODUCTION.

5

the cities of Greece in their liberty; that they had undertaken the war against Philip with that view, and that they desired no other reward than the glory of so beneficent a conduct. This declaration was a mere illusion, and the more, as the Senate had reimbursed themselves for the expences of the war, not only out of the plunder which had been taken in it, but also by considerable sums which they had exacted from Philip on granting him a peace. But their real motive was to reduce the power of that Prince, which gave umbrage to the Commonwealth, whilst they were secretly resolved upon the future conquest of all Greece. This magnificent display of disinterestedness tended to efface the suspicions, which the Greeks might have conceived, and was designed to dazzle them with the name of liberty, of which they were always so fond, and to prevent them from seeing, that Rome was forging them heavier chains than those from which she boasted to have relieved them. Such was the artful policy of the Commonwealth, which is very obvious throughout the whole course of her history. By thrusting herself into the affairs of her neighbours, she continually made way for the success of her secret views, and found means not to leave her citizens unemployed, which might have been of pernicious consequence: for Rome passed so small a part of her time without making war, that the temple of Janus, which was shut only during peace, was shut only twice from the foundation of Rome till the reign of Augustus, the first time under Numa, and the second after the first Punic war. Hence it followed, that being always in arms, she became extremely expert in the art of war. However, till the ar-

Polyb.  
Frag. c.

Vell. Pat.  
l. 2. c. 38.

Plut. in  
Mar.

rival of Pyrrhus in Italy, she had made that art consist only in a fierce and obstinate courage, and her military discipline in a mistaken and excessive severity. But that Prince's manner of making war opened her eyes: she began to learn that science from him; Hannibal made her profound in it, and Scipio at the same time had the address to soften what was too severe in her discipline. Marius after gave it a better form; and Cæsar at length put the last hand to it. By this policy and discipline, which perfectly suited the plan formed by the Roman Commonwealth for aggrandizing her power, she succeeded to make herself the mistress of almost the whole world. When the springs which set this great body in motion are known, the history of it is read with much more satisfaction; because the mind being no longer intent upon tracing them out, devotes itself wholly to the pleasure of following the facts, and the delight which their variety affords. But it is no less necessary to know the Manners and Customs of the people whose history one reads; that knowledge leading us to that of their genius and character, and almost rendering us their cotemporaries, or at least serving to give them a less foreign air. It were therefore to be wished, that those who undertake to write the Roman history, or that of any other nation, would begin by placing good observations upon the policy and peculiar character of such people by way of preliminaries in the front of their work; which could not but add to the reader's improvement and satisfaction.

To have some knowledge of the Manners and Customs of the Romans, it is necessary to distinguish times: for from the foundation of Rome,



Rome, till she extended her conquests beyond the bounds of Italy, she retained a simplicity and integrity of manners, that did her more honour even than her triumphs. The virtues, of which she has left us examples that constitute the ornament of her history, are the love of her country and of public good in preference to private interest and often life itself, a greatness of soul and force of mind, that made her regard disgraces and adversity as the lot and inheritance of human nature, and at the same time as the ornaments of her constancy and resolution; an intrepidity of entire proof against the greatest dangers; an admirable generosity, that often extended even to her enemies; a love of simplicity and aversion for luxury, which confine themselves to the simple occasions of nature; to which might be added the contempt of riches, if it were not obvious, that it was rather the habit of poverty, than a real virtue in effect of choice. Accordingly, when they had subjected opulent states, they pursued riches with amazing ardor; every one in particular making it his sole study to amass them, without any scruple or regard to the means. The excessive avarice of Crassus, Verres, and so many others, are proofs of this; and what Jugurtha said in flying from Rome, that it wanted only a purchaser to sell itself, is a still stronger testimony of it. That Prince said so with good grounds; for after having corrupted the generals of the armies sent against him by the Commonwealth with his presents, he found the Senate no less easy in that respect. Accordingly, in process of time, the too great opulence and ambition of her citizens were the rocks upon which the Roman liberty was shipwrecked; the civil wars, which were a

Sallust. in  
Jugurth.

Vell. Pat.  
l. 2. c. 47.

kind of prelude to the slavery of the State, deriving themselves from those sources.

As soon as Rome had carried her arms into Asia, luxury, effeminacy, feasting, debauchery, and the love of riches and pleasures, were seen in a short time to succeed the antient simple and frugal kind of life ; so that she seemed to have contracted the vices of all the nations she had subjected to her power. She did not fall into these excesses till about an hundred and fifty years before the end of the Commonwealth.

The times when all the virtues we have just mentioned shone out most, were about the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy and the two first Punic wars ; the artificial spirit of the Commonwealth notwithstanding always subsisted, with this difference, that she preserved appearances in those days with a nicer attention than she did after the augmentation of her power had left her nothing to fear from her neighbours.

Lib. 9. c. 1. Valerius Maximus dates the introduction of  
III. luxury at Rome about the 561st year of its founda-  
*Epocha of* tion, immediately after the defeat of Philip  
*luxury.* King of Macedonia, and attributes it to the suppression of the law *Oppia*, by which women were prohibited to wear habits of different colours, to use more than half an ounce of gold in their dress, and to be drawn in chariots with two horses within the distance of a thousand paces from the city ; unless some sacrifice were to be made.

But what occasioned the abrogation of this law, was the taste which the Romans had already began to contract for the soft and voluptuous life of the Asiatics : for the date of luxury and corruption of manners at Rome ought to be  
fixed

fixed at the time, when the army sent against Antiochus, after having subjected the provinces of Asia, brought back from thence the vices with the spoils of the conquered. Their progress indeed did not appear considerable, till after the destruction of Carthage; which made Velleius Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 4 Paterculus not date its beginning till then; after which it became so rapid and general, that Rome entirely changed aspect. It will not be useless to note this difference of times with attention.

It must be observed, that the Roman People were at first composed only of two Orders, the Patricians and Plebeians: the first included the whole nobility; but from the time that the *Gracchi* were Tribunes of the People, and had passed the law, which transferred the cognizance of certain causes from the Senators to the Knights, the latter formed a second Order of the Nobility, and then the Roman People were divided into three Orders, of which the last consisted of the inferior citizens, the Burghers or Plebeians. For the ministers of religion formed no separate Order. They were confounded with the Nobility, who reserved to themselves the superintendance of the sacrifices, and the dignities of religion, which they constantly engrossed till the 446th year of Rome, when the People were admitted to share in the Liv. l. 10. dignities of Augur and Pontiff. The third Order contained only free persons, who were also distinguished into three kinds. First, those who were born free, and of parents who had always been so; these were called *Ingenui*: secondly, the children of freedmen, called in Latin *Liber-tini*; and thirdly, freedmen themselves, who from slaves had been set at liberty by their masters:



sters: for as long as they continued slaves, they could not be ranked amongst the People.

## IV.

*Distribu-  
tion of the  
Roman ci-  
tizens.*

Dion.Hal.

l. 2. c. 3.

Ibid. l. 4.

c. 5.

Senec. Ep.

95.

Dion.Hal.

l. 4. c. 4.

V.

*Officers in*

*the villa-*

*ges to take*

*the Censur.*

Dion.Hal.

l. 4. c. 4.

Ibid. l. 2.

c. 21.

These three Orders were included in the general distribution of the Roman People made at first by Romulus, in dividing Rome into Tribes or Quarters, which he sub-divided into a certain number of *Curia*, or Wards. Servius Tullius, the sixth King, in order to have a more exact knowledge of the forces of the Roman People, instituted the *Census*, or general review of all the Roman citizens, wherein every father of a family was obliged to give in a faithful account of his slaves, his freedmen, and actual residence, upon pain, for such as disobeyed this regulation or delivered false accounts, of being publicly whipped, and afterwards sold for slaves. This muster was to be renewed every fifth year, as we shall soon see when we come to speak of the Censurs.

He also instituted Chiefs, or rather Syndics, in every village: they were to take an account of the inhabitants and their estates; and as often as levies were to be made, or taxes to be raised, it was the business of those Syndics to list soldiers, and to levy the capitation. They were also to take care that the lands in their districts were well cultivated. To facilitate this muster in the country, he instituted a festival called *Paganalia*, in honour of the tutelary Gods of each village, to whom they erected altars. All the inhabitants of each village were obliged to assemble annually on a certain day, to offer public sacrifices upon them to those Divinities, and to bring thither a small piece of coin of different species, the men of one kind, the women of another, and the children of a third; so that in putting each species by itself and counting them,

them, he who presided at these sacrifices, knew immediately the number, age, and sex, of the whole assembly. Servius Tullius afterwards distributed the Roman People into six *Classes*, according to their having more or less estate, and divided each Class into a certain number of *Centuries*, of which he made another division, the one of such as were above forty-five years old, and the other of the *Youth*, that is to say, those between seventeen and forty-five. For amongst the Romans a man was deemed of the number of the *Youth* till that age. This latter body was intended to act abroad, and composed the armies which served in the field; and out of the other, the troops which remained to guard the city were composed. To these two bodies of troops he added four Centuries, two of which consisted only of artificers, and the other two of performers on musical instruments; all four to follow the armies. The first Class contained the richest citizens, and the rest of the same in proportion down to the sixth, in which those were ranked, whose fortunes did not amount to twelve hundred and fifty drachmas. These were a multitude of the poorer sort, which were called *Proletarii*, because they were useful to the State only in the propagation of children; being exempt from serving in the armies, and from paying any taxes on account of their poverty. They therefore only made up number; and were called also for that reason *Capite Censi*. Though this Class was far the most numerous, Servius made it but one Century, in order that it might have less share in the affairs of the government, as we shall see when we come to speak of the *Comitia*, or assemblies of the Roman People. The great number of citizens made

made it necessary to augment that of the Tribes from time to time, which at length rose to thirty-five. The Tribe in consequence did not continue to signify the Quarter where the citizen lived, as it had at first; but only a certain part of the People, of which it consisted, and which however still retained the name of Tribe. Thus the Roman People was distributed in five manners; the first by Tribes, the second by *Curiae* or Wards, the third by Classes, the fourth by Centuries, and the fifth, by the three Orders of the State, the Senators, the Knights, and the People. The important circumstances which arose from these different distributions, and the changes which were made in them, will be successively related in this work, as occasion shall naturally introduce them.

## BOOK THE FIRST.

*The MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the  
Romans, considered principally in  
private life.*

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## CHAPTER I.

I. Of names, and when they were given. II. Register of the births of children. III. Of adoption. IV. Manner of educating children.

CUSTOMS being things attached to the actions of man in the course of his life, to speak of them with some order, it is necessary to follow him through his different ages, and to begin with him at his birth. As they are established only in effect of the relation and conformity which they have with the manners of a people, the description of the one is, to use the expression, a lively portrait of the other.

The Romans, and especially persons of distinction, had usually \* three names, and sometimes four, when they had been adopted : The

\* ——— Si quid tentaveris unquam  
Hiscere, tanquam habeas tria nomina.

Juv. Sat. V. v. 127.

*If thou dare murmur, if thou dare complain  
With freedom, like a Roman Gentleman.*



Plut.  
Quæst.  
Rom. 102.

first name, or *prænomen* ; the *nomen*, or that of the family from which they descended ; and the *cognomen*, or that peculiar to the branch of a family. It is certain, that it was the custom with them from the beginning to have two names, though Appian of Alexandria says the contrary in his preface. All their Kings except Romulus had two, as well as his mother, who was called Rhea Sylvia. In process of time the Romans, to distinguish themselves the better, took a third, either from some mark of the body, or some quality of the mind. Plutarch in his Roman questions assures us, that the Roman women had two names, and the men three. To a son they gave the name of the family on the ninth day after his birth ; to a daughter on the eighth ; though Julius Capitolinus, in his history of Claudius Albinus, says, a son was named, and a feast given on that occasion, the seventh day after his birth. But the *prænomen* was not given him till he took the *toga virilis*, or the gown of manhood, that is to say at seventeen, nor to the daughters till their marriage. It is observed, that as long as the Commonwealth subsisted, the Romans were careful to preserve the name of the family from which they descended ; the eldest generally took the *prænomen* of his father, as in the families of the Fabii, Corneli, Claudii, and many others ; as to the younger brothers, they called themselves indifferently by any other first names. But under the Emperors they do not appear to have had the same attention. During some time the women had also peculiar first names, which were wrote the wrong end upwards ; for instance C. and M. reversed signified *Caia* and *Marcia*. This was a manner of expressing the feminine gender, but this

this custom was dropt in process of time. If the females were only daughters, the name of their house was given them alone, and sometimes softened with a diminutive as *Tulliola* instead of *Tullia*. If there were two of them, they were distinguished by the words *senior* and *junior*, and if more they were called the first, second, third, &c. These names were also made diminutives, as *Secundilla* the second, *Quartilla* the fourth. The Emperor Marcus <sup>Spartian.</sup> Aurelius made an ordinance at Rome, whereby <sup>in vit. M. Aurel.</sup> all free persons were obliged to deliver in ac- <sup>II.</sup> counts of all their children, in thirty days from <sup>Register of the births of children.</sup> the birth of each child, to the treasurer of the empire, in order to their being deposited in the temple of Saturn, where the public acts were kept. And for the same purpose he created officers in the provinces, who acted as registers; in order that if any one disputed another's freedom of condition, as often enough happened, he might defend himself by having recourse to those deposites.

They had even in the times of the Kings began to take cognizance of the number of the children born in Rome, of those who died there, and of such as took the robe of manhood. For <sup>Dion Hal.</sup> Servius Tullius had ordained that a small piece <sup>l. 4. c. 4.</sup> of money should be carried to the temple of Juno for the birth of every child; one to the temple of Venus *Libitina* on the death of each person; and lastly, one to the temple of Youth for every one that took the *toga virilis*. But those precautions did not suffice to ascertain a person's freedom of condition.

As to the slaves, they had at first no other names but those of their masters; afterwards those of their countries was added to them; and

when they were made free they took their master's *prænomen*, and the *nomen* or name of his family, but not the *cognomen*, instead of which they retained their own *prænomen*. There was also another name which was taken in case of adoption.

III.  
*Of adop-  
tion.*

When a person had no children amongst the Romans, he was allowed to adopt the son of a relation or friend. During a certain space of time the magistrates were applied to for this purpose, and afterwards the people assembled by *Curiae*. The father of the child adopted was asked, whether he would renounce his son, with the whole extent of his paternal power, and the right of life and death over him? The Emperors afterwards assumed this right to themselves, and they were applied to for permission to adopt; they even granted it to women who had no children. Adoption was also made by will, both with respect to name and estate. This did not take place till the Prætor had authorized it, after the death of the adopter.

Dion. Caff.  
l. 46.

Those who were adopted, took the name of their fathers by adoption, adding to them only those of the families from which they descended. There were several things to be observed by him who desired to adopt. In the first place it was requisite, that the adoption should not dishonour the family of the adopter: hence a Patrician was not allowed to adopt a Plebeian; but a Plebeian might adopt a Patrician. It was also necessary, that the adopter should be eighteen years older than the adopted, and that he should have no children. The *Præfectus urbis* was to judge of these conditions; and after having examined into them, he either confirmed or rejected the adoption: if he granted it, they

they caused it afterwards to be ratified by another magistrate.

It is probable, that the manner of educating children differed in the more or less happy ages of Rome. In the beginning it was suited to the hard and austere life of the first Romans ; but it became more delicate, as luxury and effeminacy gained ground. If we carry our curiosity so far as to desire to know in what manner they treated the earliest infancy, we find that they swaddled children up in bands and folds, almost in the same manner as the moderns.

IV.  
*Manner of  
educating  
children.*

Montf.  
*Antiq.*



## CHAPTER II.

I. *Manner of life of the first Romans.* II. *Of the education of their youth.* III. *Few laws of the first Romans.* IV. *Praise of the first Romans.* V. *Education of females.* VI. *Taste of the Romans for martial exercises.*

I. *Manner of life of the first Romans.* **A**S long as the Romans had only a territory of small extent, and devoted themselves principally to arms and agriculture, the education of their youth was confined almost entirely to those employments ; and it was not till after having carried their arms into Greece, the asylum and abode of the arts and sciences, that they were capable of instructing their youth learnedly. During a long space of time, the principal magistrates of Rome subsisted solely from small estates in the country, that they cultivated with their own hands, though they resided actually in the city ; between the cares of which, and those of the country, they divided their time. We see an example of this in the person of Quintius Cincinnatus, whose whole estate consisted in four acres of land, and who was found holding the plow, when the deputies of the Senate came to inform him, that he was declared Dictator. It is evident that such a kind of life required no very refined education : accordingly the fathers did not transfer that care to others, and as their children advanced in years , they instructed them in the laws, as themselves had been instructed in them, and inspired them by their example with the love of their country : They also taught them

Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 8.

Dion. Hal. l. 10. c. 3. & 5.

II. *Of the education of their youth.*

them how to use arms, and all the exercises necessary in war, endeavouring by their instructions to make them capable at once of becoming good soldiers, good citizens, and good magistrates. Indeed at that time, in order to discharge the functions of the last worthily, if we except a supreme knowledge of the interests of the Commonwealth, they had no occasion for abundance of study; as before the compiling of the laws of the twelve tables, they had very few written ones, and those known only to the Patricians. They had no other rules in adjudging causes, but a certain equity and uprightness of mind, from which the judges seldom departed. Happy, if they could always have retained virtues more useful to them than all the laws, that could not prevent the corruption of their manners. Sallust has given us in few words the praise of these times, when the Roman virtue was at its highest point, where he says, that Valour in War, and Justice in Peace, were the sole bulwarks of the citizens and commonwealth.

III.

*Few laws of the first Romans.*

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 5.

IV.

*Praise of the first Romans. Sall. in Catil.*

Those who were for giving their children a more extraordinary education, sent them amongst the Hetrurians, a neighbouring people, from whom they had borrowed most of their religious ceremonies, and the ensigns of honour annexed to dignities; as Licitors, who preceded their Kings and magistrates, the Curule chair of ivory, &c. It was also in imitation of the Hetrurians, that Rome had Augurs; for that people were judged to excel in such kind of superstitions, of which the Romans were no less enamoured than them.

V.

As to the education of females, it was confined to domestic oeconomy within doors, and

*Education of females.*

to works that suited it, \* as spinning of wool, which their mothers taught their daughters : for in those early times the Roman ladies confined themselves within their own families, and did not go abroad without necessity : but in proportion as the Roman manners softened, they were more communicative of themselves, and at length not the last to take advantage of the too great liberty and even licence, which the corruption of manners introduced.

After Rome had rendered her citizens more opulent by her conquests, they gave their children masters to instruct them in exercises and the sciences. Paulus Æmilius did so : Cato, who was very fond of the antient simplicity, instructed his son himself not only in Grammar, for in his time they were for knowing the lan-

Plut. in  
vit. P.  
Æmil.  
Id. in  
vit. Caton.

\* Unde hæc monstra tamen, vel quo de fonte, requiris?  
Præstabat castas humilis fortuna Latinas  
Quondam, nec vitiis contingi parva sinebat  
Tecta labor, somnique breves, & vellere Thusco  
Vexatæ, duræque manus, ac proximus urbi  
Annibal, & stantes Collina in turre mariti.  
Nunc patimur longæ pacis mala ; sævior armis  
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.  
Nullum crimen abest, facinusque libidinis, ex quo  
Paupertas Romana perit.— *Juv. Sat. VI. v. 285, &c.*

*You ask from whence proceed these monstrous crimes ?  
Once poor, and therefore chaste, in former times  
Our matrons were : no luxury found room  
In low-roof'd houses, and bare walls of lome ;  
Their hands with labour harden'd while 'twas light,  
And frugal sleep supply'd the quiet night,  
While pinch'd with want, their hunger held 'em straight,  
When Hannibal was how'ring at the gate.  
But wanton now, and lolling at our ease,  
We suffer all the inveterate ills of peace,  
And wasteful riot ; whose destructive charms  
Avenge the vanquisht world on our victorious arms.  
No crime, no arts of lewdness, are unknown  
Since poverty, our guardian God, is gone.*

Dryden.  
guage

guage by rules, but in the laws, and all the exercises of war, without excepting even wrestling, in which the combatants fought naked with each other.

The Romans were so fond of excelling in all the exercises of war, that Julius Cæsar from his infancy accustomed himself to ride a horse full speed with his hands behind his back, though he

*Ibid, in  
vit. J.  
Cæsar.*

had only a flat saddle and no stirrups, according to the custom of those times. The principal persons of the Commonwealth knew so well

VI.

*Taste of the  
Romans  
for milita-  
ry exercises.*

how to use arms, that the same Cæsar made the Senators and Knights instruct the gladiators,

*Suet. in J.  
Cæsar. n.*

who were to fight before the people ; believing that their lessons would improve them more than those of the fencing-masters. The places where

26.

persons formed themselves in this art were called *Palestræ*, a name which was however common to all places, where bodily exercises were practised. At the doors of these houses a statue of Hercules was placed, which served instead of a sign, as an arm with a foil denotes a fencing-master's now in France. There were also masters, who taught the art of shooting with a bow.



## CHAPTER III.

- I. *Of eloquence.* II. *Origin of the profession of advocates.* III. *Decline of the sciences.* IV. *Ignorance of the early times.* V. *No public schools.* VI. *Manner of writing.* VII. *Of letters epistolary.* VIII. *Moderation of Augustus and Tiberius.* IX. *Magnificent titles of the Emperors and Senators.* X. *Of the politeness of the Romans.* XI. *Place of honour on the right.* XII. *Emperors salute by a kiss.* XIII. *Respect paid to the ladies.* XIV. *Wine prohibited to women.*

I.  
Of elo-  
quence.

THE art of speaking in public soon became part of the education of youth, and was cultivated even by persons of more advanced years. After Rome had made choice of the Republican constitution, eloquence seemed absolutely necessary. For without the talent of speaking, how was it possible for them to share in the government, propose laws, deliberate upon the interests of the Commonwealth, and obtain offices? In consequence they copied the Greeks in familiarizing themselves with eloquence from their earliest youth: and the more powerful the Commonwealth became, the more she cultivated that art. But it did not attain its highest perfection till after a very considerable time, during which the necessity and habit of speaking in public served them instead of art. It was not till after their commerce with the Greeks, that charmed with the beauty of the discourses of their orators, they were desirous of learning the rules of eloquence, and for that purpose

Val. Max.  
l. 2. c. 1.

purpose called in masters from Greece. Under these masters those great orators were formed, who shewed, that the Romans were capable of equalling the Greeks in eloquence. The taste for it was become so general towards the end of Cicero's life, that even the fair sex conceived it for their glory. History gives us an example of this in the person of Hortensia, daughter of the famous orator Hortensius. The discourse is still extant, which she pronounced in public, for exempting the Roman ladies from the tax, which the Triumviri had laid upon fourteen hundred of them, to raise troops against Brutus and Cassius. Besides this obligation to speak in public upon the affairs of the state, which were either transacted in the Senate or the assembly of the People, there was one peculiar to those the people had chosen for their patrons, who in that quality were obliged to defend their clients, and to plead themselves, or to cause their friends to plead for them, without any other advantage, except the glory of supporting the interests of those, who were under their protection. But as soon as the Emperors had deprived the People of the right of chusing their magistrates, and of giving their suffrages in trials and public deliberations, as we shall see in the sequel, patrons and clients becoming mutually useless, subsisted no longer. Particulars having patrons no longer to defend their causes, confided them to citizens, whom they judged most eloquent, and best versed in the laws. Eloquence, till then disinterested, and actuated solely by the love of glory and public good, became, in effect of venality, a source of mean avidity and sordid lucre. Such was the rise of the profession of

App. Alex.  
de Bell.  
Civ. l. 4.

Val. Max.  
l. 8. c. 3.

Dion. Hal.  
l. 2. c. 4.

II. advocates. Juvenal \*, in his seventh satire, ridicules those of his time, who affected to appear in public in litters, dressed magnificently, and with a great train; and who carried their ostentation so far, as to wear gems of great value on their fingers at the bar, in order to pass for extremely rich, and to make their employers pay the dearer for their service. They came at length to exact such great sums, that it became necessary to make regulations for fixing their fees. This taste for eloquence subsisted a great while under the Emperors, and with the profes-

*Origin of  
the profes-  
sion of ad-  
vocates.*

Tac. An.

l. 11.

Plin. jun.

l. 5. Ep. 21.

————— Purpura vendit  
Causidicum, vendunt amethystina : convenit illis  
Et strepitu & facie majoris vivere census.  
At finem impensæ non servat prodiga Roma.  
Ut redeant veteres, Ciceroni nemo ducentos  
Nunc dederit nummos, nisi fulserit annulus ingens.  
Respicit hoc primum qui litigat, an tibi servi  
Octo, decem comites, post te an sit sella, togati  
Ante pedes. Ideo conducta Paulus agebat  
Sardonyche, atque ideo pluris, quam Cossus agebat,  
Quam Basilus. Rara in tenui sacundia panno.

Juv. Sat. VII. v. 135, &c.

Nor can I wonder at such tricks as these;  
The purple garments raise the lawyer's fees,  
And sell him dearer to the tool that buys:  
High pomp and state are useful properties.  
The luxury of Rome will know no end;  
For still the less we have, the more we spend.  
Trust eloquence to shew our parts and breeding!  
Not Tully now could get ten groats by pleading,  
Unless the diamond glittered on his hand:  
Wealth's all the rhet'rick clients understand.  
Without large equipage, and loud expence,  
The prince of orators would scarce speak sense.  
Paulus, who with magnificence did plead,  
Grew rich, whilst tatter'd Gallus begg'd his bread.  
Who to poor Basilus his cause would trust,  
Tho' ne'er so full of pity, ne'er so just?  
His clients, unregarded, claim their due:  
For eloquence in rags was never true.

Mr. Ch. Dryden.  
fion

sion of arms, long constituted the principal occupation of the Romans.

More than an hundred years before the end of the Commonwealth, they had ceased to cultivate their lands themselves, and had abandoned that care to their slaves, who also followed trades; masters making them work in their houses upon every thing necessary to life. When their conquests had opened their way into Greece, they sent their youth to Athens to study eloquence and the Greek tongue, which became the language of the sciences amongst the Romans, because they had them from the Greeks. There were few persons, except the lowest of the People, who were not acquainted with the Greek poets, and principally Homer, of whom they took pleasure in learning at least the finest passages, in order to be able to quote some of his verses on occasion. This taste prevailed long after the twelve Cæsars, in whose time it was much in fashion; the Greek tongue being spoke so commonly then at Rome, that it was familiar even to the \* ladies.

On

\* Quædam parva quidem, sed non toleranda maritis.  
 Nam quid rancidius, quàm quod non se putat ulla  
 Formosam, nisi quæ de Tusca Græcula facta est,  
 De Sulmonensi mera Cecropis? Omnia Græcè,  
 Cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latinè.  
 Hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas,  
 Hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta. Quid ultra?  
 Concumbunt Græcè. Dones tamen ista puellis.  
 Tune etiam, quam sextus & octogesimus annus  
 Pullat, adhuc Græcè? Non est hic sermo pudicus  
 In vetula, quoties lascivum intervenit illud  
 Ζῶν καὶ ψυχῆ. *Juv. Sat. VI. v. 183, &c.*

*Some faults, though small, intolerable grow:  
 For what so nauseous and affected too,  
 As those that think they due perfection want,  
 Who have not learnt to lisp the Grecian cant?*

In



On their return from Athens the youth were obliged to follow the bar, and to plead causes in some cities of the provinces. Cato, though employed in the improvement of his estate in the country, went to plead in the neighbouring cities. Tiberius, before he was Emperor, carried his son Drusus to Padua to practice the eloquence of the bar, though he had already been honoured with a triumph. Tiberius himself had pleaded before the tribunal of Augustus; and though he was Emperor, pleaded sometimes for his friends. Nero also frequented the bar as an advocate; which was also practised by others of the first rank. Augustus was so fond of appearing eloquent, that he harangued every day during the war at Modena, and never spoke to the People without having prepared himself for it in a particular manner. Domitian was the only Emperor who treated the Learned injuriously: he banished all the philosophers from Rome and Italy.

Plut. in  
vit. Caton.

Suet. in  
vit. Tib.

Plut. in  
vit. J. Cæs.  
Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

Id. in vit.  
Domit.

In process of time, that is to say, some time before the seat of the empire was removed into the East, the sciences and eloquence began to be less cultivated. The Barbarians admitted into the Roman armies, occasioned this decline. Many of them, of a rude and savage disposi-

*In Greece their whole accomplishments they seek,  
Their fashion, breeding, language, must be Greek:  
But raw in all that does to Rome belong,  
They scorn to cultivate their mother-tongue.  
In Greek they flatter, all their fears they speak,  
Tell all their secrets,—nay,—they scold, in Greek:  
E'en in the seat of love they use that tongue.  
Such affectations may become the young:  
But thou, old hag, of threescore years and three,  
Is shewing of thy parts in Greek for thee?  
Ζῶν κὶ ψυχῆ.*

Dryden.  
tion,

tion, having obtained the empire, introduced great changes of manners. It is observed, that under Maximin Galerius, a Dacian by origin, who succeeded Dioclesian, eloquence was entirely abolished; the advocates and civilians were either banished, or killed: arts and sciences seemed pernicious, and men of learning odious, to him. The judges, whom he sent into the provinces, were gross and ignorant soldiers, who not being attended by able lawyers, far from regarding the laws, had no other rule but their caprice. Adrian had set a very different example; for he dispensed justice assisted by several civilians, with whose knowledge and integrity he was acquainted. This mixture of Barbarians with the Romans very much altered the purity of the Latin tongue, and made it degenerate by little and little into a gross idiom, from the exalted height of elegance and purity, to which it had only attained by degrees in the time of Cicero and Augustus. Polybius, who lived above an age before Augustus, informs us, that in his time the Romans could not interpret the first treaty made with the Carthaginians by the two first Consuls without difficulty. The Latin tongue attained its perfection under Augustus; but it began to be adulterated and to corrupt soon after.

Dion. Cass.  
l. 57.  
III.

*Decline of  
the sciences.*

Spartian.  
l. 1. n. 18.

Polyb. l. 3.  
Vol. I.

Before the taking of Rome by the Gauls, that city is observed to have been extremely ignorant: so few of the citizens could read and write, that the letters of the alphabet were almost unknown there. The characters used by the first Romans, were the same as those of the antient Greeks. Dionysius Halicarnassensis relates, that in the temple of Diana, built by Servius Tullius upon the Aventine hill, there were still

IV.  
*Ignorance  
of the early  
times.*  
Tacit.  
l. 11.

still to be seen in his time the decrees of the assembly, held in consequence of a treaty of alliance with the Latines, engraven upon a pillar of brass in those antient characters ; from whence he presumes with some foundation, that the Romans derived their origin from the Greeks.

V.  
*No public  
schools.*

During three ages there were no public schools at Rome for teaching children to read and write ; their parents, when they were capable, took that care upon themselves. It is also pretended, that the nail of brass, which was antiently driven every year upon the Ides of September, that is to say the thirteenth, into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was originally invented to assist the ignorance of the People in knowing the number of years, who in order to that had only to cast their eyes upon that of the nails. But in process of time, that custom was converted into a religious ceremony, to avert public calamities, as if the nail had been indued with such a virtue. The honour of driving it into the temple was at first attached to the Magistrate called *Prætor Major* or *Urbanus*, afterwards to the Consuls, and at length to a Dictator.

VI.  
*Manner of  
writing.*

The Romans for writing used tablets, made of the bark of tree cut very thin and covered over slightly with wax, upon which they marked the letters with an iron bodkin, that was flat at the top, to efface upon occasion what had been wrote : when those iron bodkins were prohibited, that they might not be used as daggers, gold ones came into fashion. They also used vellom \* or parchment of different colours, yellow, purple, and white, upon which they wrote

\* Sic raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno

Membranam poscas. ————— *Hor. L. II. Sat. 3.*

in letters of gold or silver with reeds instead of quills. They had also for the same use leaves of a certain Egyptian plant, called *papyrus*, properly prepared; from which our *paper*, though very different, takes its name. They also wrote upon very fine linnen cloth, of which they made books in the form of rolls, which they unrolled as they read, and called each leaf or roll, *volumen*. They had also a short way of writing, which was much in use under the Emperors, that is to say, with marks, of which each signified a word. With this invention, which is ascribed to Mæcenas, the favourite of Augustus, they wrote as fast as one spoke, and could even follow the most rapid discourse. Suetonius tells us, that the Emperor Titus wrote by abbreviations as fast as one could speak. The depositions of witnesses, judiciary proceedings, deliberations of the Senate, and all the public acts, were reduced in that manner to writing, so that whatever had been pronounced or treated was taken down word for word. These sort of writers, or registers, were called *Notarii*, from their manner of writing by notes or marks: those who copied fair what had been so wrote in short hand, were called *Librarii* and *Antiquarii*. These notes or marks were different from figures, which were the same that are still used under the name of the Roman cypher, and are only numeral letters taken from the alphabet.

They had a general form in writing letters: they generally began with the name of the writer, and of the person to whom they were addressed, and concluded with the term *Vale*, *Farewell*, or *Adieu*. They only observed, when they wrote to a person of superior rank, as to a Consul, or Emperor, to write the Consul's or Emperor's

Plin. l. 13.

c. 12.

Dion. Cass.

l. 55.

Suet. in

vit. Tit.

Vesp.

VII.

Of letters

epistolary.



peror's name first. When a Consul or an Emperor wrote, they always placed their own name before those of the persons to whom they addressed themselves. Augustus and Tiberius would not suffer themselves to be called Lords; but their successors, far from the same moderation, thought fit, not only to be called Lords, but that in writing to them the most magnificent epithets should be added, as the *Most high, Most sacred, Invincible*, and the like. In the body of the letter, the terms *Your Clemency*, or *Your Piety*, were used, as we now say *Your Majesty*; and in process of time the title of *Clarissimus*, or *Most illustrious*, was given to the Senators and persons of the first rank. The letters of the Emperors upon affairs of importance were always under two seals. The epistolary stile of the Romans in the time of the Commonwealth breathed their free spirit, and answered the form used in the beginning of the letter. This was not from their wanting politeness, especially after they had quitted the austerity of their antient manners, and became emulous of the Greeks: for when any one came to visit them, they never failed to meet him half way, and to embrace and take him by the hand, though of an inferior rank. When only two were together, the right hand was the place of honour. If any one entered whilst they were sitting, they rose up to do him honour, and did not meet in the streets without saluting each other, in the morning with the word *Ave*, and in the evening with *Salve*: and in taking their leaves they always used the compliment *Vale*. It was the custom to cover their heads with a corner of their robes, to defend them from the injuries of the weather; but when any acquaintance accosted them,

Tacit.  
Ann. l. 2.  
n. 28.

VIII.  
*Moderation of Augustus and Tiberius.*

IX.  
*Magnificent titles given the Emperors and Senators.*

Herod. l. 7.

X.  
*Of the politeness of the Romans.*

Suet. in  
vit. Ner.  
c. 13.

XI.

*The right hand the place of honour.*

Plut. in  
vit. Pomp.  
& J. Cæs.

Id. in vit.  
Tib. Grac.

them, they immediately uncovered. Kissing the mouth or the eyes, was a way of saluting much practised amongst them, either by way of compliment upon some dignity, or some happy event. Slaves kissed their master's hand, who held it out to them for that purpose. There were also occasions, wherein the soldiers kissed the hands of their general, as upon his quitting his office; and they even struck him in the hand, when he went to visit them in their tents, whilst sick.

The Emperors also saluted their principal officers by a kiss, as the *Præfectus Prætorio*, the Pro-consuls, and persons of distinguished merit. These marks of favour differed according to the more or less kind and humane character of the Emperor. The Romans treated the women, married or unmarried, with so much honour and respect, that it was prohibited to say the least immodest word in their presence: and when they met them in the streets, they always gave them the way; which was observed even by the magistrates themselves. They carried decency so high, that the fathers took care never to embrace their wives before their daughters. The near relations were permitted to kiss their female kindred on the mouth; but it was in order to know whether they smelt of wine; for they were not allowed to drink it. This regularity and purity of manners supported themselves only during the five first Centuries, and hardly so long, for they began to decline towards the end of the fifth. However, it is allowed, that at the time when the Romans were most polite, they never attained to that refined urbanity, or elegance of manners, which was in a manner natural to the Athenians.

Suet. in vit. Oth. Herod. l. 2. XII.

Emperors salute by a kiss. XIII.

Honour paid the ladies. dies.

Aul. Gell. l. 10. c. 23. Plin. l. 14. c. 13. XIV.

Wine prohibited to the women.

## CHAPTER IV.

- I. *Of habits.* II. *Of the robe called Toga.* III. *Of the robe Prætexta.* IV. *Of the Latus-clavus.* V. *Of the Bulla.* VI. *Of the robe Lacerna.* VII. *Of the Synthesis.* VIII. *The Pullata.* IX. *The Paludamentum.* X. *Military habits.* XI. *Use of linnen.* XII. *Of girdles.* XIII. *The women wore no stays.* XIV. *Colour of habits.* XV. *White habit in times of rejoicing.* XVI. *Rarity of silk.*

I. *Of habits.* **A**S to the manner in which the Romans dressed themselves, if we look back into the early times, we find their habits made only of different skins of beasts, to which succeeded coarse woollen stuffs, which they improved and made finer in process of time: for the life of the first Romans was so rude and gross, that it differed little from that of savages. When woollen stuffs were introduced, they made themselves ample tunics, with large sleeves, and so short, that they scarce reached the elbow. But we find under the Emperor Constantine, that they came down almost to the wrist. Over this ample tunic they bound a girdle or sash, and above all a robe without sleeves, like a large cloak, open before, called *Toga*. One end of it was brought over the left shoulder, in order that the right arm might be the more at liberty; and when they wanted to act in that habit, they wrapped it round the body like a sash, and made it fast with a knot.

II. *Of the robe called Toga.* Suet. in vit. Aug.

When the Romans became more opulent, the *Toga* was made of fine woollen cloth, generally white; however, they wore them of different colours.

colours. They quitted it in times of mourning and public calamities, to express affliction. It was originally an habit of honour, and prohibited to the common people, who went about the city in the tunic only : but being become common to almost \* every body, it distinguished the rich from others only by the fineness of the stuff, and its being more ample. It was even common to both sexes, till the women of quality made use of the robe called † *Stola*, and then the ‖ *Toga* was worn only by the vulgar women and courtesans.

The robe called *Prætecta* had a great resemblance to the *Toga*, and was worn by children of quality ; by boys, from the age of fourteen, till they took the *Toga Virilis*, the habit of manhood, at seventeen ; and by girls, from the time of puberty, till they were married. It was called *Prætecta*, from being bordered with purple. The magistrates, priests, and augurs, wore it in certain ceremonies. The Senators had under this robe a tunic ample enough, called *Latus-clavus*, which was long taken literally for an habit adorned with large studs of purple like nail-heads, but has since been discovered to signify only a stuff with large stripes of purple,

III.  
Of the robe  
*Prætecta*;  
Plin. l. 8.  
c. 48.  
Vell. Pat:  
l. 1. c. 11.

IV.  
*Robe Latus-clavus.*

\* *Fortuna non mutat genus.*  
Videsne, facram metiente te viani  
Cum bis ter ulnarum toga,  
Ut ora vertat huc & illuc  
Liberrima indignatio ?

*Hor. Epod. 4. Ad Menam Pompeii Libertum.*

† ————— Numquid ego  
Magno prognatum deponco consule cunnum,  
Velatumque *Stola*, mea cum conferbuit ira ?  
‖ Nec imago —————  
————— tenerum est femur, aut crus  
Rectius ; atque etiam melius persæpe *Togatæ*.



the same as that called *Angustus-clavus*, which was peculiar to the Knights to distinguish them from the Senators, and which was also only a stuff with narrower stripes of the same colour. The children of the Senators did not wear the tunic *Latus-clavus* till after having taken the *Toga virilis*. Till then they had no other marks of distinction besides the robe *Prætexta*, except what was called *Bulla*, which was a little heart, or globe of gold, that hung down on their breasts. Only the children of the *Curule*, that is to say the great, magistrates were allowed to wear the \* *Bulla*. They had besides many other kinds of robes, which all resembled the *Toga* very much in the form of them. That called *Trabea*, was only a little shorter, and striped with purple and white, and in process of time with gold. We are told, that it had been affected by the Kings of Rome. The *Lacerna*

V.  
Of the  
Bulla.  
Antiq. du  
P. Mont-  
fauc.  
Plut.  
Quæst.  
Rom. 101.  
Plin. ibid.  
Perf. Sat. 3.

VI.  
Of the robe  
Lacerna.  
Suet. in vit.  
Claud. c. 6.

was a cloak for bad weather, and worn over the *Toga*. At first it was only used in war; it was tied before with a buckle, and had an hood added to it, called *Cucullus*, which was taken off at will. They had coarſe ones for winter, and fine for summer, but both of woollen stuff. Till Cicero's time, these cloaks were used only by the People, but as they were found commodious, all the world came into them, at first for the country, and afterwards for the city. The ladies themselves wore them when they went out

\* Cum primum pavidò custos mihi purpura cessit,  
Bullaque succinctis laribus donata pendit.

Perf. Sat. V. v. 30.

When first my childish robe resign'd the charge,  
And left me unconfin'd to live at large;  
When now my golden Bulla (hung on high  
To household Gods) declar'd me past a boy.

Dryden.

in

in the evening; and persons of quality, and even the Emperors, put them on over the *Toga*, when they went to the Forum or Circus: but those of the People were either brown or white, of the Senators, purple, and of the Emperors, scarlet. However it was customary to quit this cloak by way of respect, in the presence of the Emperor.

The *Synthesis* was another kind of very large robe or cloak, which they put on to eat in, as a more commodious habit for lying upon the beds at table. Martial tells us that in his time, there were persons, who out of an air of magnificence, changed them often during the repast.

The *Pullata Vestis* was an habit worn for mourning, and generally used by the common people. The colour of it was black or brown, and the fashion much the same as the *Lacerna*, having also an hood for the head.

The *Paludamentum* was a military robe, like that which the Greeks called *Chlamys*. It was worn over the cuirass, and was fastened with a buckle on the right shoulder; so that all the right side was uncovered for the more easily moving of the arm, as we see it in antique statues. The military habit was a close-bodied tunic, which reached half way down the thighs, over which the cuirass was put. With the military habit, when they performed some exercises, or rode on horseback, they put on certain drawers called *Campestre*, which served them instead of breeches: for they did not commonly wear them with long habits. Amongst the military habits may also be reckoned a kind of vest, called *Sagum*, which the soldiers used in the army, and wore over the cuirass. Besides all these different garments, there were some

peculiar to certain dignities and ceremonies, as the robe of triumph. Plautus in his comedies, which appeared at Rome about the five hundred and sixty-sixth year from its foundation, speaks of several other kinds of habits, of which we know no more than the names, and which whoever should undertake to describe, would give us only mere conjectures; it not being possible to know all the different modes of them, nor the times when they were in fashion. For tho' they did not change often, it is however certain, that luxury and the commerce with foreign nations, introduced several at different times.

## XI.

*Use of linnen.*  
Lampr. in  
vit. Alex.  
Sever.

Under these robes they usually had two tunics; that next the skin served instead of a shirt, for they wore no linnen. According to Lampridius, Alexander Severus was the first Emperor who used it: but the use of it did not become common till long after him. They did indeed remedy the inconveniences, which arose from the want of linnen, in bathing so often as they did. This under-tunic was the finest. Those of the men were close-bodied, without sleeves, and reached no lower than half way the leg, differing in that from the women's, which were longer and wider, and had sleeves, but came no lower than the elbows: they were made to fit close at the neck. If they were left open at top, it was looked upon as an air of liberty of one over-desirous to please. The other tunic, which was very large, was worn longer by the women, than the men, and next immediately to the robe. In process of time both men and women wore two or three tunics, without including that next their skin, and as that next the *Toga* was very large, they used a girdle or sash to keep it close, and bind it

it back when necessary. These fashes were different according to the age of the wearer, and served also to put the money in, which people carried about them. A person was not thought to be drest decently without this cincture, and it was a mark of dissolute manners not to have one, or to wear it too loose. Suetonius, speaking of Julius Cæsar, whose youth was not very regular, relates, that Sylla used to advise the nobility, *ut puerum male præcinctum caverent*, to take care of the youth with the loose gown. Persius says in the same sense, *Sat. III.*

XII  
*Of girdles.*  
Lampr. in  
vit. Alex.  
Sever.

Suet. in  
vit. J.  
Cæf. c. 4.  
Dio. Cass.  
l. 43.

*Non pudet ad morem discincti vivere Nattæ.*

The men affected to wear it very high; and the ladies placed it immediately under their bosoms, which it served to sustain; for they neither used stays, nor bodice. This girdle was called *Cassula*, and the part of it where they placed their jewels *Strophium*. But from the beginning of the Commonwealth, they added to the girdle an ornament, which was affixed to it, and marked the separation of the breasts. This was generally adorned with gold, pearls or other jewels, and made so as to form a kind of breast-plate or stomacher. Luxury added another robe or veil over this habit with a long train, which was called *Symare*. It was fastened on the right shoulder with a clasp more or less rich, in order to leave the arm at liberty, which the ladies wore uncovered as well as the men. This *Symare* falling full from the other shoulder, formed a great number of plaits, which gave abundance of grace to this habit; and for that reason it was worn by the actresses upon the stage.

XIII.  
*The women did not wear stays.*  
Ibid. l. 19.  
c. 33.

The most general colour of the Roman habits was white, which, except purple peculiar to

XIV.  
*Colour of habits.*  
Dio. Cass.  
in vit.  
Sever.



the great offices, was deemed the most honourable. The citizens in public rejoicings generally appeared in white robes, to denote their joy. Plutarch tells us, they did the same on

XV. private occasions of rejoicing, and that they wore a white \* habit on their birth-days, which they celebrated annually, by giving a feast to their friends. Persons of quality were distinguished, as we have said before, by the fineness, neatness, and whiteness of their habits: and we find in authors of those times, that they often sent their robes to the fuller to be cleaned and whitened. The inferior people, to avoid that expence, generally wore brown cloths. Appian informs us, that from Julius Cæsar's time, distinction of habit was no longer observed at Rome; that the freedmen were confounded with the other citizens; that the slave was drest like his master; and that except the habit of Senator, the use of all the rest was indifferently allowed to all the world. In Domitian's time we find, that the Tribunes of the legions wore the robe *Latus-clavus*.

White habits worn in times of rejoicing.  
Plut. Qu. Rom.  
Suet. in vit Aug. n. 44.  
Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 2.

Suet. in vit. Dom.

Ibid. in vit. Galb.

It was not the custom amongst the Romans to wear any arms in the city, sword, dagger, or even cane or staff; which continued to be observed till Adrian's time. The Emperors themselves conformed to this custom, except Galba, who, as Suetonius relates, wore a dagger, which hung from his neck.

When the Roman ladies went abroad in the city, they were generally drest in white; and in succeeding times chose indifferently the co-

\* Ille repotia, natales, alioſve dierum  
Festos albatuſ celebrat. *Hor. L. II. Sat. ii. v. 60.*

—————Negato,  
Jupiter, hæc illi, quamvis te albata rogârit.

*Perſ. Sat. II. v. 40.*

lour they liked best : The freed-women were drest in black. Valerius Maximus tells us, that <sup>Val. Max.</sup> they did not go abroad without having their <sup>l. 6. c. 2.</sup> heads covered with veils ; but that custom, which virtue dictated, soon vanished with purity of manners. They were always attended by their women, to whom, after the twelve Cæsars, succeeded Eunuchs. Such as walked in the streets alone, were either courtezans or the wives of the common people. As to the stuffs they wore, they were entirely of wool under most of the Emperors, and were distinguished only by the work, fineness, and colour. Augustus wore no other. Suetonius observes, <sup>Suet. in</sup> that one day, that Emperor seeing a number <sup>vit. Aug.</sup> of Romans in an assembly drest in dirty robes, <sup>n. 40.</sup> cried out in great rage : *See those Romans, those masters of the world, what a figure they make in their long robes !* which shews that luxury of dress, at least amongst the men, did not prevail in his time. Heliogabalus was the first Emperor, who wore a robe made entirely of silk, <sup>Herod. in</sup> which was then called *Holoferica*, because silk <sup>Heliog.</sup> <sup>l. 5.</sup> came from the country of *Seres*, now called Cathay. Silk was so scarce in those times, that it was sold for its weight in gold ; and above fifty years after we find its price not diminished, by Aurelian's answer to his wife, who <sup>Vopisc. in</sup> only desired him to let her wear a robe made en- <sup>Aur. l. 2 7.</sup> tirely of silk and dyed in purple. He refused her with saying, That he was far from valuing thread and gold at the same price. This Emperor would not wear a robe of silk ; and only permitted women of quality to have tunics dyed in purple, whereas before they were not permitted to wear that colour. Changeable colours were very much the taste of those times.

## CHAPTER V.

- I. *Of stuffs.* II. *Head-dress of the men.* III. *Time of taking the Toga virilis, or robe of manhood.* IV. *The first beard.* V. *Maids when marriageable.* VI. *Powder of gold used in the hair.* VII. *False hair.* VIII. *Long beards.* IX. *Different head-dress of the Roman ladies.* X. *Pendants at the ears and other rich ornaments.* XI. *Pearls, diamonds, and other jewels.* XII. *Pendants at the ears.* XIII. *Pendants worn by men.* XIV. *Jewels much in fashion amongst the Roman ladies.* XV. *Of rings and seals.*

I.  
*Of stuffs.*

THE Romans manufactured stuffs, in which they mixed a little silk : they made some, in which there were stripes of silk, gold, and linnen. Linnen did not begin to be commonly used, till toward the declension of the empire, when Egyptians came to settle amongst them, and they made use of it in imitation of that people.

II. The young Romans in the time of the Commonwealth, generally went bareheaded, and some wore a cap : but they most frequently covered their heads with a corner of their robe. The women combed back their hair, and tied it in a knot ; the boys did the same, till they took the *toga virilis*, which was at the age of seventeen. This period was distinguished by a feast given to their relations and friends, by way of rejoicing, that the young man was become capable of serving the Commonwealth. At the end of the feast, the robe *Pratexta* was taken

III.  
*Time of taking the toga virilis.*

Plut. in Tib. Grac.

off, and one entirely white put on him. His father attended by his friends conducted him afterwards to the temple, to make the customary sacrifices, and return thanks to the Gods, and from thence he was brought to the Forum, to teach him to quit the life of a child, and lead that of a man. They also entertained their relations and friends, when their children attained the age of puberty, and when their beard was shaved for the first time. The hair of their heads was cut off at the same time, which was a religious ceremony ; for part of it was thrown into the fire in honour of Apollo, and the rest into the water in honour of Neptune, because hair is produced by humidity and heat. As to the beard, it was kept out of superstition in some box of value, as Nero's was, who put his into a box of gold, which he dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus. It was usual enough to shave for the first time on taking the *toga virilis* : some however deferred it longer, and to these it gave occasion for another feast and ceremony : for this action was considered as an act of religion. As to the maids, when they attained the age of marriage, they offered their babies to Venus, the *Bulla*, the little heart or ball of gold, mentioned above, which hung from the neck upon the breast, wastaken from them : but they retained the robe *Prætexta*, which they continued to wear till married. In the beginning of the reigns of the Emperors, the Romans curled and perfumed their hair with scented oils. Afterwards those who affected a greater refinement of dress, powdered it with gold-dust, in order to make themselves appear the more beautiful. The Emperors Lucius Verus and Gallienus wore it in their hair. This fashion was taken from the Asiatics ;

IV.

*The first  
beards.*

Suet. in  
vit. Ne-  
ron. Dion.  
Cass. l. 60.

V.

*Maids  
marriage-  
able.*

Perf Sat. 2.  
Id. Sat. 5.

VI.

*Gold-dust  
to powder  
the hair.  
Trebell.  
Pol. l. 24.*

for



for it subsisted among the Jews in the time of Solomon, as we find in the historian Josephus.

VII. It was also about the beginning of the empire, *False hair.* that the use of perukes or false hair, for those *Suet. Oth.* who had little, was introduced. The Emperor *n. 12.* Otho, who had not much, used false. It is probable that this custom did not subsist in Julius Cæsar's time; for otherwise he would have used it, to prevent his baldness from being perceived, and the rather because it was thought a deformity in those days. Accordingly his soldiers did not fail to reproach him with it at his triumph, saying with a loud voice, *Calvum mæchum duximus Cæsarem; mariti, servate uxores.* They wore the beard long from the beginning of the Commonwealth, as we see in the account of the taking of Rome by Brennus, general of the Gauls. In the time of Scipio, and under the Emperors, they cut it: they began to wear them long again under Adrian, as appears on the medals of the Emperors. From the medals and antique marbles is also to be known

VIII. *Long beards.*

Dio. Cass.  
l. 60.

IX. *Different head-dress of the Roman ladies.*

how much the head-dress of the Roman ladies varied in different times. It consisted always of their hair; and the sole difference was in the manner of disposing it. They usually divided it before into equal parts with a bodkin, and the wives were distinguished from the maids by the manner in which it was separated: however, there are antique bustos, in which there is no separation. They curled and adjusted it differently, for they covered it with a net, put it into a kind of purse which came close about the head, tied it behind in form of a knot, or bound it back and plaited it with ribands. They took great care to wash it in order to make it more beautiful and shining, as is still practised in some parts of Italy; and they used the most exquisite

perfumes and essences in it. During a great length of time they covered their heads with a large black veil. Pearls and jewels were also a part of their ornaments. They wore pendants at their ears, adorned their head-dress with jewels, and sometimes twisted their locks in chains of gold.

X.  
*Pendants and other rich ornaments.*  
Val Max.  
l. 6. c. 2.  
Plin. l. 9.  
c. 35.

It is to be observed that among the Romans, and even all the antients, pearls were much more esteemed than they are at present, and that diamonds were very scarce, not becoming common till after the commerce with the Indies. They did not know even how to cut and polish them to such perfection as the moderns do. But as to coloured stones, they were not scarce; and they knew how to cut them either hollow or in relief perfectly well. The Roman ladies wore necklaces and bracelets, not only of pearls but precious stones. The antique statue of Lucilia, the wife of Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius's colleague, represents her with bracelets of three rows. They had also another kind of bracelet, called *Spinther*, which they wore near the elbow on the left arm. During a long series of time, under the Commonwealth, only the freedmen and their children had their ears bored to distinguish them from those born of free parents. But when luxury had gained ground, young people of quality, and even men, caused their ears also to be bored, in order to wear pendants and pearls in them like the women. It is observed that Cæsar, before he obtained the empire, did this fashion great honour, which prevailed till Alexander Severus prohibited the use of it to men. As to jewels, the Roman ladies were so fond of them for a time, that Lollia Paulina, whom Agrippina caused to be put to death, for having attempted to

Hor. l. 1.  
Sat. 2.  
XI.  
*Of pearls, diamonds, and precious stones.*  
Plin. l. 37.  
c. 4.

XII.  
*Pendants for the ears.*  
Antiq. de Montfau.  
Plin. l. 9.  
c. 35.  
Juv. Sat. 6.

XIII.  
*Pendants in the ears of men.*  
Suet. Cæs.  
Lamprid.  
in vit.  
Alex. Sever.

XIV.  
*Jewels much in fashion among the*

marry

Roman  
ladies.

Tac. l. 3.

XV.  
Of rings  
and seals.

marry the Emperor Claudius in competition with her, had of them to the amount of almost an hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Luxury at length became so general, that the wives of the common people wore rings, or a kind of chains of silver about their feet. This taste for jewels produced another for rings, which both men and women wore. At first they had only rings of iron or gold, according to the difference of condition, which served them as seals, and which they wore on the fourth finger. They afterwards added a stone finely engraved to it by way of seal : and when luxury had taken place of this first simplicity, the use of gems and precious stones was introduced. They wore them on the fore-finger by way of ornament ; afterwards they added another on the little finger, \* so that all the fingers had them, except the middle one. At length through a refinement of luxury, they used to change them according to the seasons, and † had light rings for summer, and heavy ones, set with larger stones, for winter.

\* ————— Sæpe notatus

Cum tribus annellis, modò læva Priscus inani  
Vixit inæqualis.

Hor. Sat. VII. l. 2.

† ————— Cum verna Canopi

Crispinus, Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,  
Ventilet æstivum digitis sudantibus aurum,  
Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ,  
Difficile est Satiram non scribere.

Juv. Sat. I.

*When I behold the spawn of conquer'd Nile  
Crispinus, both in birth and manners vile,  
Pacing in pomp, with cloak of Tyrian dye  
Chang'd oft a day for needless luxury ;  
And finding oft occasion to be fann'd,  
Ambitious to produce his lady hand ;  
Charg'd with light summer rings his fingers sweat  
Unable to support a gem of weight :  
Such fulsome objects meeting every where,  
'Tis hard to write, but harder to forbear.*

Dryden.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

- I. *Gold rings peculiar to the Knights.* II. *Attention of the Roman ladies to improve their beauty.*
- III. *False teeth.* IV. *Of the toilets of the ladies.* V. *Manner of dressing the legs.* VI. *Of shoes.* VII. *Of the military dress for the legs.*
- VIII. *Dress of the legs worn by the magistrates.* IX. *The same of slaves.* X. *The antient Romans went barefoot.*

ONLY the Knights and Senators were permitted to wear the gold ring in the early times of the Commonwealth. It was long a distinction peculiar to the dignity of Roman knights, as appears from what Dion relates in respect to Mœnas the freedman of Sextus Pompeius, whom Augustus made a Knight. That author observes, that he granted him permission to wear the gold ring; a privilege which could only be conferred by the Prince on his freedmen, because antiently none but Senators or Knights could wear this ring.

We shall not be surprized that so simple a distinction was used to express the second order of the Nobility, when we consider, that till the war with Tarentum gold was very scarce at Rome. In process of time the opulence of her citizens emboldened them, towards the end of the Commonwealth, to wear the gold ring indiscriminately. Pliny observes, the Knights were not the only persons graced with that ornament in the time of the second Punic war, as Hannibal, after his victory at Cannæ, caused three bushels of them to be collected out of the spoils



Appian.  
de Bell.  
Lyb.

spoils of the Romans, which he sent to Carthage: which agrees with what Appian relates, that in the last Punic war the Tribunes of the Roman legions were distinguished from the soldiers by the gold rings which they wore on their fingers, whilst the latter had only iron ones. The first Emperors granted that favour to many of their freedmen. There is reason to believe that the ring of the Knights had something peculiar in it to express their dignity: but authors do not give us the lights one could desire upon this head. Soon after the twelve Cæsars, all the free-born Romans wore the gold ring, the freed-men one of silver, and the slaves one of iron.

As long as the Romans led a simple, frugal, and laborious kind of life, their wives, after their example, employed in domestic cares, which they even divided with their slaves, were more attentive to shine by their virtues, than by the splendor of their ornaments. But when riches had given them a taste for the conveniences of life, they referred the care of their household to their freed-women, and were solely engrossed by that of pleasing; a care unknown to their grandmothers, shut up in the inmost part of their houses, and devoted to useful occupations. It was at this time, that the custom of chusing nurses for their children amongst their slaves and freed-women became usual; idolatry for their beauty having taken place of their maternal tenderness. At length, the ladies used all that art could furnish them with, in order to appear beautiful, and supply what nature had denied them. Not only ornaments and paint were employed, but the most excessive refinements of luxury and voluptuousness

ness

ness became common. The authors of those times, and especially the satyric poets, abound with fine strokes upon this head. To shew to what an height they carried their passion for their beauty, it suffices to repeat what Dion Cassius says of Poppæa, first mistress, and afterwards wife of Nero, whom he caused to be followed in all his journeys by herds of she-  
 asses, the milk of which was used to make her baths, for preserving the whiteness and delicacy of her skin. The Roman ladies were so curious in this respect, that they used a certain composition for preserving the freshness of their complexions, with which they made a paste, that they laid upon their \* faces like a mask. They had also recourse to white cerufs; and as to red, Plautus is the only author of those times that mentions their using it, which he calls *Purpurissum*. Horace says nothing of it any where. They took no less care of their teeth; and the art of substituting false ones to those they wanted, was already very common, as well as that of making and painting an eye-

II.

*Attention to improve their beauty*  
 Dion Cass.

l. 60.

III.

*False teeth.*  
 Mart. 1.  
 Ep. 40.

\* ————— *Fœda aspectu, ridendaque multo*  
*Pane tumet facies, aut pingua Poppæana*  
*Spirat, & hinc miseri viscantur labra mariti.*

————— *Fovetur*  
*Tot medicaminibus, coctæque filiginis offas*  
*Accipit & madidæ; facies dicetur, an ulcus?*

*Juv. Sat. VI.*

*She duly once a month renews her face;*  
*Mean time, it lies in dawb, and hid in grease.*  
*Those are the husband's nights; she craves her due,*  
*He takes fat kisses, and is stuck in glue:*  
*But to the low'd adult'rer when she steers,*  
*Fresh from the bath, in brightness she appears.*

*But hadst thou seen her plaister'd up before,*  
*'Twas so unlike a face, it seem'd a sore.*

*Dryden.*

brow

brow successfully. The same authors also inform us of their attention in consulting their glasses for the adjustment of their head-dress ; \* describing ingeniously their starts of rage and revenge, when the women who dressed them, that were either their slaves or their freed-women, did not succeed according to their liking. Hence we may conclude, that they did

IV. *Of the toilets of the ladies.*

not employ less time at their toilet, than the ladies of the present age ; but then it was in them an act of religion, and sacrificing to Venus and the Graces. We do not find it mentioned any where, that they made use of patches to exalt the whiteness of their skin, and improve the air of their features : in all probability that aid was unknown to them. At length they carried their luxury so far as to use pearls and precious stones upon their legs and feet, which was also done by some of the Emperors.

V. *Manner of dressing the legs. The sock.*

The usual dress for the legs both of men and women were of two kinds ; the one close, the other open. The latter was a kind of sandals, composed of soles which covered the bottom of the feet, and were fastened to ribbands, or thongs of leather, that came cross the foot in

\* Nuda humeros Psecas infelix, nudisque mamillis,  
Altior hic quare cincinnus ? Taurea punit  
Continuo flexi crimen facinusque capilli.  
Quid Psecas admisit ? Quænam est hic culpa puellæ,  
Si tibi displicuit nasus tuus ? *Juv. Sat. VI.*

*She hurries all her handmaids to the task ;  
Her head alone will twenty dressers ask.  
Psecas the chief, with breast and shoulders bare  
Trembling, considers ev'ry sacred hair :  
If any straggler from his rank be found,  
A pinch must for the mortal sin compound.  
Psecas is not in fault : but in the glass  
The dame's offended at her own ill face.*

Dryden.  
different

different manners, and were twisted several times round the leg above the ankle. The other, which was close, covered the foot, and came as high as the thickest part of the leg: it had an opening before, which was laced. Horace and Ovid inform us; neatness and decency required, that the dress of the leg, whether sandal or buskin, should fit well and even upon it. The shoe annexed to it ended in a point that turned back a little, and for that reason was called in Latin *Calceus rostratus*. For some time the ladies wore a kind of high-heeled buskins, or pantofles, which made them appear taller. The advantage of this kind of buskin to the wearer, made the use of it common in weddings, in order to give the stature of the bride a more graceful appearance. The dress of the legs worn by officers and soldiers, and which was called military, differed in nothing from the close sort, or buskin, except in its being stronger and fitter for marching, having the sole studded with nails. The usual dress of the legs worn by men was made of black leather, and that of women either of white or red stuff. On ceremonial occasions that of the great Magistrates, as well as of the Emperors, were of purple: the Senators, Patricians, and their children, wore by way of distinction between the ankle and heel, a kind of \* crescent of gold, silver, or ivory, sometimes set with pearls and precious stones, which served them instead of buckles for fastening on their shoes.

*The buskin.*

VI.

*Of shoes.*

VII.

*Military dress of the feet.*

VIII.

*Dress of the feet worn by magistrates*  
Plut. Qu. Rom. 76.

\* *Fœlix, & sapiens, & nobilis, & generosus,  
Appositam nigræ lunam subtexit alutæ.*

*Juv. Sat. VII. v. 192.*

*Quintilian*

*Wise, happy, noble, generous beside,*

*Clas'd the black buskin with the crescent's pride.*



Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

Suetonius tells us that Augustus affected to wear shoes something higher than usual, in order to seem taller than he was. We cannot tell what kind of dress for the feet this was; for in ancient monuments we find nothing that can give us an idea of it. To conclude, the dress of the feet of the Romans varied at different times.

IX.

*Dress of  
the feet  
worn by  
slaves.*

X.

*The antient  
Romans  
went bare-  
foot.*

Plut. in  
vit. Caton.

At first, and during a great length of time, they were made of undress'd leather. As to slaves, they were not permitted to wear shoes at Rome, but only a kind of wooden sandals. They generally walked barefoot, which was long practised even by the Roman citizens in the time of the Commonwealth. For it is observed, that Scipio, † Cato, and in later times Germanicus, went almost always without shoes, for the sake of conforming in that respect to the simplicity of their ancestors, from which however Rome had much departed in Cato's time, and still more in the time of Germanicus. Luxury and sloth had attained to such an height, that in the time of Cicero, not only the magistrates, and principal persons of the Commonwealth, but even all the citizens of fortune of both sexes, were carried both in the city, and when they went to take the air in the country. The rich citizens had \* saddle-horses expressly for that use.

Cic. pro  
Milone.

† Quid? si quis vultu torvo ferus, & pede nudo,  
Exiguæque togæ simulet textore Catonem,  
Virtutemne repræsentet moreſque Catonis?

Hor. L. I. Epist. 19.

————— How?  
*Barefoot ſhould any one, with look auſtere,  
Like Cato, a ſhort vulgar tunic wear,  
Would he, with that contempt of dreſs, aſſume,  
The manners, virtues, of that ſoul of Rome?*

\* Et Appiam mannis terit.

Hor. Epod. 4.

*And ſpurns the Appian with his pacing nags.*

C H A P.

CHAPTER VII.

- I. *Of litters.* II. *Chariots of the Emperors.*  
 III. *Chariots for travelling expeditiously.*  
 IV. *Kind of post.* V. *Of the great ways or roads.* VI. *Messengers of the galleys.* VII. *Form of the chariots.*

CARRIAGES, which multiplied still more under the Emperors, were either close or open litters, carried by \* six or eight men, who were generally slaves. There was room in them only for two, and both were under cover from the weather: the former did not become common till under the Emperors. According to Dion Cassius, the Emperor Claudius was the first who used them. The use of them afterwards became general, except for the ladies, who, according to the same author, in his time were carried only in little open litters. They were more or less magnificent, according to the quality, rank, or luxury that prevailed. They were also used in travelling, as we find in Plutarch's Life of Cicero, who commanded his domestics to set down his litter, when Herennius, who was sent by Mark Antony to kill him, overtook him. We must not however imagine, that they knew no other carriages, as in the time of the Kings they made use of chariots. Tullia, the wife of Tarquin the Proud, commanded the coachman who drove her cha-

\* ——— Cum jam sexta cervice feratur  
 Hinc atque inde patens. *Juv. Sat. I. v. 64.*

————— *When lolling at his ease,*  
*Mæcenas-like the happy rogue he sees,*  
*Born by six weary'd slaves in open view.* Dryden.

riot, to drive over the body of her father, that lay in the street. From the reign of the last Kings, the Roman ladies used a kind of chariot called *Carpentum*, but only in certain ceremonies: and Livy tells us, that about the three hundred and sixty first year, under the Military Tribunes, they were granted the privilege of using another kind of chariot called *Pilentum*, which was covered, whereas the other was open; upon condition however that they should use it only in going to the sacrifices, games, and on festival days; and that on other days they should appear only in open chariots. But the simplicity of the life of the Romans, and their indigence, rendered that regulation useless. When equipages became common, the litter was preferred: for during the Commonwealth chariots were only used in certain ceremonies of religion, for the pomp of triumphs, and the races of the Circus. In the two last they had only two wheels. It was not till late enough, under the Emperors, that the use of chariots, which afterwards became so common, was introduced, as the Emperor Adrian used only a litter in the city. There were two kinds of chariots, as well as waggons for baggage, the one with two, and the other with four, wheels. The first were the least, and the use of them was more antient than of those with four, which were larger and more modern: the Emperors and principal Magistrates were the first that used them. Magnificence was no less evident in equipages than other furniture. The Emperors had chariots of silver, and others gilt with gold and silver, and adorned with ivory and other precious materials. Alexander Severus permitted even the common people to adorn them

Dion Cass.  
l. 60.

II.  
*Chariots  
of the Em-  
perors.*  
Vopisc.  
l. 27. in  
vit. Aurel.  
Dion Cass.  
l. 60.

them with silver: for in that Emperor's time they were the equipages most used at Rome, where litters were entirely laid aside. The chariots of the Emperors, and persons of great distinction, were drawn either by mules or white horses, which were more esteemed. Some Emperors had also armed chariots, which they made use of in the field to break the enemy.

The Romans in travelling, for the sake of III. expedition, made use of certain small chariots *Chariots* with two wheels, which were very light, because *for travel-* usually made of osiers. There was room in *ling expeditiously.* them only for one to sit, and they were drawn by three mules one before the other. This chariot served them instead of the modern post-chaises, except that it was not possible to travel in them at ease, being neither covered nor slung.

Suetonius probably speaks of the same equipage, Suet. in vit. J. Cæs. when he says, that Julius Cæsar travelled an hundred miles a day in an hired chariot; which might on some occasions supply the expedition of posts, the Romans having none regular.

Augustus indeed had an idea of such an institu- IV. tion, when in order to be informed of what pas- *Kind of post.* sed in the provinces with greater dispatch, he Suet. in vit. Aug. caused young persons who ran, to be placed at *& Vesp.* small distances from each other. He instituted

public carriages, which Antoninus Pius rendered more commodious for travellers. The latter designed also to have repaired the great ways or roads, which had been the care of the Commonwealth, long before the reign of the Emperors. She had caused great roads to be made from Rome to the extremities of Italy. There are still to be seen magnificent remains of those

called the *Appian, Flaminian, and Æmilian,* V. *Of the great ways or* ways, which have subsisted about two thousand *years, roads.*



years. They are paved with such hard stones, that they are rather polished than worn; and so well joined, that in some places the whole breadth of the way seems of one piece: There is on each side a path raised above a foot for the convenience of foot-travellers. In the Emperor Vespasian's time, there were persons expressly appointed to go and come between Ostia and Rome. They went their stage barefoot; and were called messengers of the galleys: but this falls exceedingly short of the posts, so well established in the present age.

## VI.

*Messengers  
of the gal-  
leys.*

Suet. in  
vit. Vesp.  
Treb. Pol.  
l. 25.

## VII.

*Form of  
chariots.*

Trebellius Pollio is the only author who mentions suspended chariots on the occasion of Zenobia, who appeared in such a chariot in the superb triumph of Aurelian; for amongst the antique marbles and medals, which represent triumphal chariots, we find none suspended or slung. They appear in the form of a tub or drum adorned and carved, and placed upon two or four wheels, without either a roof against the weather, or a seat for the coachman, unless he sat on the side of the front of that sort of chariot, to which generally two mules abreast were harnessed. There are representations of these chariots, wherein, though embellished, we see them drawn, like waggons, by a yoke of oxen. One might conjecture that they made use of oxen when they travelled; for they employed those animals more commonly than horses in drawing, and plowed their lands only with them.

But to continue the history of luxury; it was not confined to the dress of the ladies; it extended universally; but it shewed itself in nothing so much as in the public buildings, and even private houses.

C H A P T E R VIII.

- I. *Of houses.* II. *Unknown kind of plaister.* III. *Grandeur of Rome.* IV. *Manner of building houses.* V. *Courts of houses.* VI. *Height of houses.* VII. *No chimneys.* VIII. *Portable furnaces.* IX. *Kind of stoves to heat rooms.* X. *Manner of cooling apartments in summer.* XI. *What used instead of glass for windows is unknown.* XII. *Of cisterns.* XIII. *Of hospitality.* XIV. *Tally, or certificate, of hospitality.* XV. *Porticos for the different seasons.* XVI. *Rooms to eat in on the tops of the houses.* XVII. *Of libraries.* XVIII. *Baths.* XIX. *Stoves.* XX. *Of the Thermæ.* XXI. *The Tiber the first bath of the Romans.* XXII. *Simple beds of the antient Romans.* XXIII. *Beds.* XXIV. *Form of beds.* XXV. *Of seats.* XXVI. *Tapestry.* XXVII. *Taste for painting and sculpture.* XXVIII. *Tables of curious wood.* XXIX. *Of vessels and plate.*

THE city of Rome, till the time when I. it was burnt by the Gauls, consisted only *Of houses.* of thatched houses and poor cottages. That calamity proved advantageous to it; for it was rebuilt in a more solid and commodious manner. However, it is observed, that till the ar-Plin. l. 16. rival of Pyrrhus in Italy, the houses were co-c. 10. vered only with planks and boards. The Romans in their buildings used bricks more commonly than stone; and for mortar and plaister, lime mixed with sand, or with a certain red earth, which they still use in that country. They had the secret of making mortar, which became harder than stone itself, as appears from

II.  
*Plaster*  
*unknown*  
 Dion. Caff.  
 l. 56.

the ruins of their buildings. They did not know the plaister of France, called plaister of Paris, which to this day is not used by the greatest part of Italy. Augustus said that he had found Rome of brick, but should leave it of marble. From whence may be judged the magnificence of the houses and public buildings erected in his time. Under the first Emperors marble was employed in them more commonly than stone had been before. To adorn them, every thing most curious and valuable was used; gilding, paintings, ivory, fine woods, precious stones; none of which were spared. The pavement of the lower apartments were either inlaid marble, or Mosaic work. The city was never more magnificent than after Nero had caused it to be set on fire, at which time two thirds of it were burnt down. It is said that after it was rebuilt, there were forty-eight thousand houses separate from each other in it: for that Emperor, in causing the houses to be rebuilt, ordered that they should be separate from each other, and even fixed their height. From this period, and long after Trajan, it was the most superb city in the world: and if we consider the great number of its public buildings, their beauty and solidity, of which some subsist to this day, we shall agree that the Romans sought no less to immortalize themselves by their works, than by their actions. To reflect upon the great number of baths or *Thermæ*, which were vast and sumptuous buildings, the *Basilicæ*, or public halls, which for magnificence gave place to them in nothing; the Theatres, Amphitheatres, Circus's, *Naumachia*, Forums, and other public structures, amongst which were libraries open to all lovers of the

III.  
*Grandeur*  
*of Rome.*  
 Tac. Ann.  
 l. 15.

the sciences, \* where the statues of those who had excelled in them, were placed in honour of their memories; and lastly, to consider the aqueducts, which had been made for bringing better waters than those of the Tiber: all express the immense power and grandeur to which Rome had attained. The very common-sewers argued Plin. l. 36. this: they were so many great vaulted streets c. 15. made under those of the city, in order to keep it always clean, by receiving the filth, which they carried off into the Tiber, by the means of streams, that were expressly turned into these subterraneous canals. All this, with the fine structure of private houses, formed a city as much above all others in its magnificence and beauty, as the extent of its power. This small sketch suffices for giving an exact idea of it: more particular accounts would be foreign to my subject.

When the Commonwealth was at the height of its greatness, the houses of principal persons were laid out in such a manner, that before the gate there was a kind of portico supported by pillars, and intended to shelter the clients from the weather who came in the morning to pay their court to their patron. The court was usually surrounded with flights of chambers, that opened into porticos. At the entrance of the house was a large hall, or rather † gallery, adorned with

IV.

*Manner of building the houses.*

V.

*Courts of the houses.*

\* ————— Beatus Fannius ultro  
Delatis capsis & imagine; cum mea nemo  
Scripta legat. ————— *Hor. L. I. Sat. iv.*  
*To Cæsar's library blest Fannius flies,*  
*There leaves his busto, and his rhapsodies:*  
*Whilst none read what I write.* —————

† Tota licet veteres exornent undique ceræ  
Atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.  
*Juv. Sat. VIII.*  
*Long*



with the statues in wax, silver, or marble, of the master of the house's ancestors, with a short account of their greatest actions. In this place people waited till the great person was visible.

Polyb. 1.6. However, according to Polybius, there was a room on the top of the house, which was considered as a kind of chapel, in which the figures of their ancestors were placed. Care was taken on certain festival days and public solemnities to uncover and adorn them. When any man of consideration of the family died, these figures were carried in procession at his funeral; at which time the rest of the body was added to them, in order to make the likeness the greater. They were dressed according to the dignities those they represented had enjoyed; in the Consular robe, if they had been Consuls; in the triumphal, if they had triumphed; and so on of the rest. It is easy to reconcile the difference of other authors from this passage of Polybius, by observing that those authors are posterior to him; that in his time, pomp and luxury had not made so great a progress as under the Emperors; that under them, the Romans setting no bounds to their magnificence, had halls below or porticos in their houses, where they placed great statues of marble, or some other precious materials, which did not hinder them from keeping the busts of the same ancestors in upper apartments, in order to use them in funeral ceremonies, as being more commodious to carry than marble statues.

VI. All the houses were of two stories, without  
*Height of* including the low one at bottom under the  
*the houses.*

*Long galleries of ancestors, and all  
 The follies which ill grace a country hall,  
 Challenge no wonder or esteem from me.  
 Virtue alone is true nobility.*

Stepney.  
 first.

first. On the first were halls of audience and lodging-rooms, and on the second, the eating-rooms and the apartments of the women. It is not known how their chimneys were made, and <sup>VII.</sup> whether they had any except in their kitchens : *No chimneys.* it appears however that they seldom had any in the apartments ; but to supply the want of them they had portable furnaces, or fire-pans, in which <sup>VIII.</sup> they burnt a certain wood, that being rubbed *Portable furnaces.* with the dregs of olives after the oil was pressed out of them, did not smoke. Seneca says, that <sup>IX.</sup> in his time certain pipes were invented, which *Kind of stove to heat rooms.* being affixed in the walls, warmed the chambers equally to the upper story, by the means of fires made in furnaces disposed along the bottom of the walls. We find that during summer, to <sup>X.</sup> cool the rooms, they also made use of pipes, *Manner of cooling apartments in summer.* which rose from vaults, from whence they drew the cool air, which they dispersed in its course into the apartments. We are still in ignorance <sup>XI.</sup> as to what they used in their windows, for letting the light into rooms, and to keep out the *What used instead of glass for windows not known.* injuries of the weather : it was perhaps linnen-cloth, or some stuff equivalent to it. For it is certain, though glass was not unknown to them, as they made drinking-vessels of it, that they did not use it like us for windows. Nero employed for that use a certain transparent stone like alabaster, cut in squares, through which the light appeared. And the historian Josephus <sup>Joseph. in legat. Philon.</sup> speaks of a different kind of substance applied to that use, but without explaining himself clearly. He tells us that the Emperor Caligula, giving audience to Philo, ambassador from the Jews of Alexandria, in a gallery of one of his palaces near Rome, ordered the windows to be shut, upon account of the wind that incommo-

ded

ded him. He adds, that those windows, which kept out the wind, and let in only the light, were so clear and shining, that they might have been taken for rock-cristal. He would not have had occasion to have made so loose and indeterminate a description, if they had been glass, which was so well known by the vessels made of it. It was perhaps a kind of stone which, Pliny says, was common in Spain, would split in leaves like slate, and was as transparent as glass. We do not know whether it was as brittle; but it is certain that it admitted the rays of light, and might be seen through: it was perhaps *Talk*. But there are many things of antiquity of which we have but imperfect notions. This is not our case in re-

XII. *Of cisterns* respect to cisterns: we are certain that there were public as well as private ones, in great houses. The inner court, which was called *Impluvium*, was contrived in such a manner, as to receive the rain-water from the whole building, which it conveyed into the cistern.

XIII. *Of hospitality.* In the times of Rome's grandeur, her principal citizens built spacious houses, in order to have spare-apartments for the strangers who visited them, thinking it for their honour to exercise hospitality in imitation of the Greeks. This hospitality was a correspondence between persons of different countries, who through friendship contracted this mutual obligation with each other, and even transmitted it to their descendants. The pledge and certain evidence of this convention, consisted of a piece of marked wood, that they called *Tessera hospitalitatis*, of which no nearer idea can be given than to compare it with those tallies, that certain trades use to express the quantity of what they supply. In the

XIV. *Tally or certificate of hospitality.*

same manner these *Tesseræ* were a piece of wood marked, and so cut, that separate it made two, but joined again, it tallied so exactly, as shewed it had been but one; besides which some characters were cut upon it. It was by this method they knew the persons with whom they had contracted engagements of hospitality. For when they had entered into that contract, each kept one of these tallies, which did not only serve those who had this right, personally, but also such as they thought fit to lend it to; so that the bearer of this kind of certificate was as well received, lodged, and entertained, as he to whom it belonged.

To make an end of giving an idea of the manner in which the houses of persons of condition were laid out: They had all porticos, or piazzas, to walk in under cover from the sun and weather, and situated to the East for the conveniency of the different seasons, with apartments for summer and winter, and rooms only to eat in, which were always in the highest part of the house. This was a custom so generally established amongst them, that almost all the country-houses had a tower above the body of the building, which usually was but one story, and upon the top of that tower was a room with large openings on all sides solely to eat in. Thus with the pleasure of the table they could unite that of viewing the beauties and various prospects of the neighbouring country.

In many houses of the persons of fortune were fine libraries, and baths in all those of the rich, which were always placed near the eating-rooms, because it was the custom to bathe before they sat down to table. For from the time that the frequent use of baths had been brought from Greece and Asia to Rome, the Romans conceived

XV.

*Porticos and galleries for the different seasons.*

XVI.

*Rooms to eat in.*

XVII.

*Of libraries.*



XVIII.  
*Of baths.*

conceived a great taste for them, and thought them as essential to health, as nourishment itself; which obliged them to erect public ones, that multiplied to such a degree, that under the Emperors they amounted to eight hundred. Agrippa only, in the reign of Augustus, caused above an hundred to be built. They were usually laid out in different apartments, which formed different baths, of which the two first were for the common people, who paid scarce half a \* farthing *per* head for the use of them, and children were admitted *gratis*. As to others, the price augmented in proportion to the manner in which they were served. There were people to do all necessary offices. In each of them were hot, warm, and cold baths, so that every one might chuse. There were chambers on the sides for undressing and dressing, where people were rubbed, and trimmed with nippers. To clean the skin they made use of a certain instrument, which they called † *Strigil*, made of silver, copper, or ivory, bent like a scythe; and afterwards to smoothe it, they rubbed it with a pumice-stone. They next poured odoriferous oils prepared for that use upon it. In these baths were stoves. The authors of those times observe, that the news of all that passed in the city was spread at the baths, and even that || works of wit were first read there.

XIX.  
*Of stoves.*

\* ————— Dum tu quadrante lavatum  
Rex ibis. ————— Hor. L. I. Sat. iii.  
*Whilst for a farthing bath'd you strut a King.*  
† I, puer, & strigiles Crispini ad balnea defer.  
Perf. Sat. V.  
*Go boy, and scrapers bear to Crispin's bath.*  
|| ————— In medio qui  
Scripta foro resonent sunt multi, quique lavantes.  
Hor. L. I. Sat. iv.  
*The Forum rings with verse, the baths resound;  
Crowds of repeating bards in both are found.*

At the first establishment of public baths at Rome, there were distinct ones for the men and women ; but they insensibly became common, with this difference only, that the men were served by men, and the women by women. The Emperor Adrian perceiving how indecent Dio. Cass. l. 60. this was, ordered different baths for each sex.

Marcus Aurelius did the same : but Heliogabalus suppressed those ordinances, which were revived, but with little success, by Alexander Severus ; so that this indecent custom subsisted a considerable length of time even among the Christians, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the ministers of the church, and was not entirely abolished till after the Emperor Constantine. At length, the public baths were so common, and the use of them so general, that Pliny observes, there were three in the village near his country-house. This amazing number of public baths, of which some were magnificent structures, served no less for the convenience than embellishment of that great city. The xx. most superb baths however were still far remote Of the Thermæ. from the beauty and extent of those called *Thermæ*, which were also public baths, but almost all built by the Emperors ; in which their principal view seems to have been, to display their magnificence, having spared nothing that might give an high idea of it. For they were spacious and magnificent edifices, adorned with porricos and galleries of extraordinary extent, and superb architecture, which contained not only baths, but every thing else that could render them agreeable. We find that there were libraries in them ; witness the *Thermæ* of Dioclesian, whither the Ulpian library had been carried. There were places in them allotted to the exer-

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

cises of the body, and even to those of the mind, as it was customary to assemble under those porticos, and works of wit were repeated, and youth taught there. It were needless to add, that newsmongers assembled there, as we have already said that they frequented the other public baths. It is for this reason the poets often gave them the epithet of *Garrulæ*. The open places and galleries served for the exercises of the body; leaping, wrestling, throwing the *Discus*, foot-ball, and another game with a ball, which came near enough to what we call *Long* or *Welch Tennis*. For the Romans, who in early times had cultivated the exercises of the body only as they conduced to render them more warlike, cultivated them in process of time, as conducive to health. Wrestling seemed very proper for rendering the body more supple and vigorous, and thereby less subject to the infirmities which arise from too much indolence and inaction. It was with this view that Augustus often exercised himself in playing at foot-ball, and that kind of tennis of which we have spoke. Besides these places of exercise, there were others planted with trees, where people walked in summer. The baths in them were of all kinds, even of sea-water, to which peculiar virtues were ascribed. There were stoves also in the *Thermæ*, as in the other public baths. They were distributed into different apartments, consisting of halls of extraordinary extent, the extremely lofty rooms of which were supported by pillars of the most exquisite marble. The pavement was also marble and Mosaic work, with which the walls were covered, and adorned with gilding and paintings of great value. But their principal ornament was the prodigious  
number

number of marble statues, figures, and vases of the best masters. The Emperors took pleasure in collecting in these places most of the excellent pieces of painting and sculpture, which the Romans had brought to Rome from the principal cities of Greece and Asia. The same magnificence extended to all the rest of those edifices; for even the place in which were kept the perfumes, odoriferous oils, essences, and drugs, with which those who had bathed were rubbed, was no less adorned; the vases, in which they were preserved, were either of marble, or some curious matter. The vessels in which people bathed, were of fine marble, oriental granite or porphyry, though of an extraordinary size, as may be judged from those which have been found in the ruins of these buildings, most of which serve at this day for the public fountains at Rome. Thus there is no room for thinking, that the authors, who have spoke of the magnificence of the *Thermæ*, intended to impose. Besides such large bathing-vessels, there were great basons full of water for such as desired to exercise themselves in swimming; so that nothing had been forgot, that could contribute either to pleasure or amusement. A great number of slaves of both sexes were appointed to take care, that these *Thermæ* were kept equally clean and commodious. After this short description, it is easy to perceive the difference between the *Thermæ* and other baths: for besides that the latter had neither the magnificence nor extent of the former, most of them had not porticos in them for the exercises of the body. The *Thermæ* of Caracalla and Dioclesian were the most spacious and superb; and were considered with reason amongst the principal ornaments of this first city of the world.



- XXI. But before the Romans had quitted their rough and austere kind of life, they had no other bath but the Tiber, whither they went to wash and exercise themselves in swimming. In those times they contented themselves with lying upon beds of straw or dried leaves, with no other covering but skins of beasts, which served them also for mattresses. But in process of time, the example of the people they subjected, and the opulence they began to enjoy, induced them to supply themselves with all the conveniences, or rather superfluities, of life. Accordingly they had not only feather and the finest down-beds, with mattresses of wool, \* but they adorned their bedsteads with figures in relief, and inlaid work: they made them also of ivory, and even massy silver, with coverings of fine purple, enriched with gold. The beds represented in the antique marbles, are very different from ours: they were made almost like our couches or settees, with a back and sides that ran from the head to the feet, being open only before. These beds, which had neither tester nor curtains, were so high, that they could not be got upon without some sort of steps. They had different kinds of seats, some made like stools, and others like folding chairs, and chairs with backs and without arms. For tapestries they made use of rich stuffs, wherein were fi-
- XXII. Simple beds of the first Romans.
- XXIII. Beds.
- XXIV. Form of beds.
- XXV. Of seats.
- XXVI. Of Tapestries.

\* *Nemo inter curas, & seria duxit habendum,  
Qualis in Oceani fluctu testudo nataret,  
Clarum Trojugenis factura ac nobile fulcrum :  
Sed nudo latere, & parvis frons ærea lectis  
Vile coronati caput ostendebat aselli. Juv. Sat. XI. v. 87.*

*It was not then a Roman's anxious thought,  
Where largest tortoise-shells were to be bought,  
Where pearls might of the greatest price be had,  
And shining jewels to adorn his bed,  
That he at vast expence might loll his empty head.*

Congreve.  
gures

gures of animals : but the walls of their apartments were generally covered with marble, wainscot, or adorned with works in relief, or only statues, which served instead of tapestry. When statues began to grow into esteem with them, the sculptors represented them in the *Toga*, and afterwards naked in the manner of the Greeks, or with the cuirass in the Roman mode. The spoils of the city of Syracuse, XXVII. Taste for painting and sculpture. which Marcellus brought to Rome and displayed in his triumph, gave birth to the love of painting and sculpture amongst the Romans, which they had little regarded before. They afterwards extended their curiosity to many other things, that did not deserve it. The desire of having tables of curious wood, or adorned with silver, was of this number : the most esteemed and the most coveted wood for this kind of works was the lemon of Mauritania. As to XXVIII. Tables of curious wood. Plin. l. 33. c. 11. their vessels, they used none during a great length of time under the Commonwealth, except of earth or wood ; to which they adhered so strictly, that in the year 477, the Censor XXIX. Of vessels. Val. Max. l. 2. c. 5. C. Fabricius excluded P. Cornelius Rufinus from the Senate, a person of Consular dignity, who had filled the office of Dictator with distinction, because he had about ten or twelve pounds of silver plate in his house. In those times the sumptuary laws were exactly observed : but a great change ensued afterwards, and silver plate became as common, as it had before been rare : they even had gold-plate. One of the freedmen of the Emperor Claudius caused a silver dish to be made, that weighed five hundred pounds. We may conjecture from hence, to what an height the magnificence of buffets was carried, of which I shall say something, when I come to speak of the Roman meals. Tac. l. 3. Plin. l. 33. c. 11.

## CHAPTER IX.

I. *Division of the night.* II. *Of the lamps used during the night.* III. *Division of the day.* IV. *First sun-dial.* V. *Of the Clepsydra, or water-clock.* VI. *Usual occupations of the day.* VII. *Of patrons and clients.* VIII. *Manner of devoting criminals.* IX. *Respect of clients for their patrons.*

I. *Division of the night.* **T**HE Romans divided the night into four equal parts, each of three hours, which they called *Watches*, reckoning by the first, second, third, and fourth watch, according to the custom observed in the army, where the guard was relieved four times during the night. Part of it they employed either in the pleasures of the table or in study. They usually made use of lamps, which were placed in sconces with several branches. Rich persons, refiners in luxury, had branches made of Corinthian brass, of curious workmanship. The use of wax was not unknown to them; but they generally burnt lamps, from whence came the Latin proverb, *Tempus & oleum perdidi*, to say, *I have lost my labour.*

II. *Of the lamps used during the night.*

III. *Division of the day.* As to the day, during a very great length of time, they distinguished its different parts only by sun-rise and sun-set: No other difference is mentioned in the laws of the twelve tables. It was not till some time after the institution of those laws, that they divided it into two equal parts, the fore and after-noon. For till the four hundred seventy-seventh year of Rome, when

IV. *First sun-dial.* Papirius Cursor caused the first sun-dial that appeared

peared there to be affixed to the wall of the temple of Quirinus, they had never used any method for measuring time. With this help they divided the day into hours, and had only sundials till the year 585, when Scipio Nasica for the first time made use of the water-clock (Clepsydra) amongst them, which shewed the hours day and night, by the means of a glass vessel filled with water, on which swam a small piece of cork with a needle in it, that pointed to the hours marked along the vessel, by sinking in proportion as the water ran out through an hole made on purpose at the bottom of the glass. In this manner they arrived at dividing the day into twelve hours, of which the first began with sun-rise, and the twelfth ended with sun-set; which made the hours unequal in the different seasons, being longer in summer, and shorter in winter; but at the sixth half the day was always supposed to have elapsed.

After having explained the division made of the day by the Romans, I proceed to their usual occupations, and their distribution of them during it. It began for all affairs with \* sun-rise: the two first hours were taken up by their clients paying their duty to their patrons, and in conciliating the affection of their fellow-citizens, whose suffrages were necessary for the attainment of the dignities of the Commonwealth. They allotted these duties to the beginning of the day, in order to employ the rest of it in the services they might have occasion mutually to render each other, in quality of patrons and clients.

\* Agricola<sup>m</sup> laudat juris legumque peritus,  
Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia passat. Hor. Sat. I.  
*The lawyer vows the farmer's life is best.*  
*When at the dawn the clients break his rest.* Horneck.



VII. *Of patrons and clients.* The people's custom of chusing patrons and protectors out of the Senators and Nobility, is ascribed to Romulus. The protected called themselves clients, from the assiduity with which they cultivated their patron's favour. Romulus's view in this was to establish union between the two orders, by rendering them mutually necessary to each other. This institution, if really of Romulus, as it is said, gives us an advantageous idea of his political abilities. Dionysius Halicarnassensis lessens the glory of it a little, by affirming that he borrowed the greatest part of the form of his government from the Greeks. This tie between the two orders became still stronger and more useful in the times of the Commonwealth, because the Nobility stood in need on many occasions of the suffrages of the People.

Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 4. The patrons were obliged to assist their clients with their counsels and credit, and to defend them in their absence, as well as present; to take their cause upon themselves, if any injustice were done them, or they were cited before the judges; and to do all for them that a father does for his children, as well on account of what regarded money, as in pecuniary contracts. The patrons inherited the estates of their clients, who died intestate, and without heirs. The clients on their side undertook no affair without consulting them; it was their duty to give their voices in the public assemblies in their favour, or for those for whom their patrons made interest. They were also obliged to assist them in marrying their daughters; to furnish them with fortunes, if the fathers had not sufficient estates; and to pay their ransom, and that of their sons, when they were taken prisoners by the enemy.

But

But they were discharged from the last obligation, when the Commonwealth had prohibited the ransoming of prisoners of war. They were also obliged to advance the money, if their patron lost a law-suit, and even the fines laid on them by the public, and that without use or interest. Their purse was also to be open to their patrons, to support their dignity and the expences the public good required them to be at, as if they had been their own relations. Both patrons and clients were equally prohibited to accuse each other of crimes; to give evidence, or vote against each other; and to espouse the party of one another's enemies. If a person were convicted of having done any of these three things, he was obnoxious to the law passed by Romulus against traitors, and after correction it was lawful for any citizen to kill him, as a victim devoted to Pluto God of hell. For it was the custom of the Romans to devote those, whom it was lawful to kill with impunity, to some God, and principally the infernal divinities. The clients paid their patrons so much respect, that they went in the morning to their doors to wait their rising, as well as the freedmen, with this difference however, that the latter paid that duty to their masters twice a day, morning and evening, and the others only in the morning. But both the clients and freedmen accompanied their patron's litter through the streets on foot, who thought it for their honour to have a numerous train. It was with that view patrons in process of time gave those, who attended them, \* the *Sportula*: this was a retribution in money

VIII.  
*Manner of  
devoting  
criminals.*

IX.  
*Respect of  
clients.*  
Suet. in  
vit. Galb.

\* Nonne vides quanto celebretur sportula fumo?

*Juv. Sat. III. v. 249.*

*See with what smoke our doles we celebrate. Dryden.*

or victuals. After the Plebeians had at length obtained the power of possessing the dignities of the Commonwealth, they also became patrons, and had clients, through the credit and authority, which the offices they had filled, acquired them. But under the Emperors, the People having no longer any share either in the elections of the magistrates, affairs of state, or judgments, in which only the Magistrates and the Emperor then presided, nothing remained of patrons and clients, except the names, mutually void of the obligations before annexed to them. The name of client was given solely to those, who accompanied the rich and powerful in the city, to swell their train, to whom on that account was given what was called *Sportula*, which, as we have said, was either a small piece of money, or a portion of provisions, distributed to them at the doors of the persons they had attended ; and the latter retained the name of patron, upon account of that salary. In this manner the pride of the rich enabled part

Tac. Hist.  
l. 2.

of the poor citizens to subsist. The right of patronage however, if we may believe Tacitus, subsisted still in respect to freedmen. That historian says in the life of Vitellius, that this right of patronage, which he had restored with the applause of the Senate and People, became ineffectual, through the deceit of the freedmen, who either secreted their fortunes, or put them under the protection of the great.

CHAPTER X.

I. *Of the third hour.* II. *Of dinner.* III. *Affairs transacted in the Forum.* IV. *Magnificence of buffets.* V. *Of the beds used at tables.*

THE two first hours being employed as above, the third was usually allotted to the Bar, or particular affairs, till the fifth, which was that of dinner. This was a very slight repast, and in a manner a simple refreshment, till the principal meal, which was the supper: and in consequence they never invited any body to dinner. From thence to the seventh hour was a time of repose, which is still a custom in Italy, that they call *passing the noon*. The eighth hour was employed in exercises of the body; after which they bathed; and about the ninth went to supper. However, in the early times of the Commonwealth, when they applied themselves more to their domestic affairs, than pleasures, they did not sup till sunset. By this distribution of time we may see the difference between their manner of passing their time, and ours. Their affairs, whether public or private, being transacted in the Forum, kept them a part of the day from home. The public shews of the Circus, Amphitheatre, and Theatre, which became so common under the Emperors, that they were exhibited almost every day, might also employ the rest; so that supper-time and night were all that remained for their private diversions, and for entertaining their friends and relations at home: for they seldom were without some of them at this meal.

The

I. *Of the third hour.*

II. *Of dinner.*

Suet. in vit. Aug.

Herodian.

l. 2. Suet. in vit. Domit.

III. *Affairs transacted in the Forum.*



IV.  
*Magnifi-  
cence of  
buffets.*

The rooms where they ate were places adorned and solely allotted to that use. It was there, according to the fortune of the master of the house, that more or less magnificence was displayed in superb buffets laden with vessels, still more valuable for their exquisite workmanship, than for the gold, silver, or other exquisite materials of which they were composed. Most of them were the fruits of their victories, and the spoils of the provinces they had conquered, and served rather to make a magnificent shew, than for any necessary use.

Ibid. l. 20.  
c. 2.

V.  
*Of the beds  
used at  
table.*

Plut. in  
vit. Pomp.  
Suet. in  
vit. Aug.  
Mart. l. II.  
Ep. 53.

To go back to the early times, when simplicity and modesty prevailed, we find that the Romans ate sitting upon benches or seats round the table: but after their commerce with the Greeks and Asiatics, whom they piqued themselves upon imitating, they introduced, instead of chairs or stools, the use of beds round the table. They were usually of a round form: one side was always left open to receive the service in the middle; and the beds were placed, one at the head, and two on each side, there being only three at each table. On each of the greatest there was room only for four persons; for they did not approve having more than twelve at the same table. The common beds were only for \* three; and the number that pleased them most was † nine, seven, or three, having a singular prejudice for an odd number.

The

\* *Tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcitra lecto,  
Unà simus, ait.* *Juv. Sat. V.*  
*That the third bolster may not want a guest,  
Sup with me, says his Lordship.*

† *Summus ego, & prope me Viscus Thurinus, & infra  
Si memini Varius: cum Servilio Balatrone  
Vibidius; quos Mæcenas adduxerat Umbras.  
Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra.*

*Hor. L. II. Sat. viii.*

*Sir,*

The master of the house placed himself upon the bed at the end of the table, from whence he could see the whole disposition of the service, and give his domestics orders with most ease. The place above him he reserved for one of the guests, and that below him for his wife: for the Roman ladies were present at entertainments with the men, which was not the custom amongst the Greeks. But the most distinguished place was the last upon the middle bed. It was called for that reason the Consular place, because it was really That given the Consuls, when they went to eat at the houses of their friends. They lay upon these beds with their left elbow on a pillow, or kind of bolster. At the beginning of this custom, the women thought it indecent for them to lie down at table, and used to sit upon the beds: but that scruple was soon removed, and they took their places at them in the same manner as the men. \* Horace in one of his Satires informs us, that a canopy was placed over the table. Though the example of the Asiatics had not a little contributed to introduce that manner of lying at table amongst the Romans, it was however also ascribed to the custom of bathing immediately before eating; because on quitting the bath, the body having occasion for repose, they threw themselves upon beds, which they found too commodious to quit, when it was necessary to

Plut. de  
Conv. l. 1.  
Qu. 3.

Val. Max.  
l. 2. c. 1.

Lamprid.  
in vit. He-  
liogab.

*Sir, I sat first; and stay, I think 'twas so,  
Turinus next, Vibidius sat below,  
Next Balatro; below him Porcius lies*

*All uninvited; but, as Lords are wont,  
Macenas brought them all on his account.* Creech.

\* *Interea suspensa graves aulæa ruinas  
In patinam fecere——* Hor. L. II. Sat. VIII.  
*But whilst he talk'd, and whilst he prais'd the fish,  
Down came the canopy into the dish.*

eat.

eat. For the guests bathed at the person's house who invited to supper; and it was for this reason, that it was always observed in building houses, to place the apartment of the baths near that where they ate. These beds for the table were covered with purple, and other rich stuffs. They were low and without backs, differing in those respects from the beds where they passed the night, and not much unlike couches or settees. Some were in the form of an half-moon, and others a little raised at the end next the table, for the more commodiously supporting those on them whilst they were eating. Of all the different forms of them, the last was the most modern. On quitting the bath, the guests put on the robe worn at feasts or suppers, called in Latin *Synthesis*. This robe, of which the form is not known to us, was shorter than the rest. It must be confessed, that we are still ignorant of abundance of these customs, notwithstanding all the lights, which the moderns have endeavoured to extract from the authors of those times, and some relievos which have conveyed the representation of them down to us. In one, among the rest, we see a woman at table lying upon one of these beds, and a man close to her, whose shoes are taking off, and who seems preparing to take his place also upon it: for cleanliness required that the shoes should be taken off on this occasion. The woman seems to recline a little on one side, supported by her left elbow, with no other habit, except a tunic without sleeves, and a drapery that surrounds her from above the girdle to the feet: this perhaps is the *Synthesis* of which we have spoke. She has a kind of purse with her hair in it, that comes close about her head.

CHAPTER XI.

I. *Bills of fare given the guests.* II. *Of the King of the feast.* III. *Of the crowns of flowers and ivy.* IV. *Of the healths drank.* V. *Number of courses.* VI. *Mulled wines.* VII. *No table-cloths.* VIII. *Table-cloths first used.* IX. *Of the diversions with which feasts were attended.* X. *Hour of supper.* XI. *Of the breakfast.* XII. *Of the dinner.* XIII. *Games of chance.* XIV. *Lotteries.*

THE first thing done was to give the guests I. an exact and circumstantial list of the cour- *Bills of* ses, and all the dishes of which the feast was *fare given* composed. Before they began to eat, they threw *to the* dice in order by way of diversion to decide who *guests.* should be \* King of the feast. He was obeyed II. during the whole entertainment, and regulated *Of the King* the number of healths that were drank. The *of the feast.* guests were presented † with wreaths of flowers *Plut. de* Conv. l. i. and c. 4.

\* Jam te premet nox, fabulæque manes,  
Et domus exilis Plutonia: quo simul mearis  
Nec regna vini fortiere talis. *Hor. L. I. Od. iv.*

—The grim conqueror death  
Advances swift to stop thy breath;  
And once depriv'd of light,  
We're wrapt in mists of endless night:  
Then no more shall mirth and wine  
Our loves and wit refine.

—Quem Venus arbitrum  
Dicet bibendi? *Id. L. II. Od. vii.*  
Let's try whom the cast Venus shall assign  
The monarch of the glass, the King of wine.

† Displicent nexæ philyra coronæ.  
*Id. L. I. Od. xxviii.*

Crowns wrought with too much art displease.

—Est in horto,  
Phylli, nectendis apium coronis:  
Est hederæ vis

Multa,



III.  
Of the  
crowns of  
flowers and  
ivy.

IV.  
Of the  
healths  
drunk.

V.  
Number of  
courses.

and ivy, to which was ascribed the property of preventing the effects of the fumes of wine by their coolness: after having rubbed their hair with odoriferous \* essences, they put those crowns upon their heads, and wore them during the whole entertainment. Some time before it ended, which was when the healths began to go round briskly, the master of the house caused a great cup, richer and more adorned than the rest, to be brought, which was therefore called † *Cuppa magistra*, the principal cup, out of which the company drank round the healths of those they loved. If it was a mistress, they often by way of gallantry obliged the lover to drink as many times as there were letters in her name.

Their supper usually consisted of three courses: but sometimes out of an excess of magnifi-

*Multa, quâ crines religata fulges.*

*Id. L. IV. Od. xi.*

—————*To crown thy hair*

*My parsley grows; my ivy twines*

*To grace thy head, and make thee fair.*

*Creech.*

\* *Cur non sub alta vel platano, vel hac*

*Pinu jacentes sic temerè, et rosa*

*Canos odorati capillos,*

*Dum licet, Assyriaque nardo*

*Potamus uncti? ———*

*Hor. L. II. Od. xi.*

*Why underneath a pleasing myrtle shade,*

*On flow'ry banks supinely laid,*

*Are we so slow to spend a day;*

*And, whilst grey hairs are crown'd with rose,*

*Or od'rous oil our heads o'erflows,*

*To quaff our cares away?*

*Creech.*

—————*Quis udo*

*Depropere apio coronas*

*Caratve myrto?*

*Id. L. II. Od. vii.*

*Who parsley twines, or myrtle boughs,*

*To grace our mirth, and shade our brows?*

*Creech.*

† *Post hoc ludus erat cuppa potare magistra.*

*Id. L. II. Sat. ii.*

*The next sport was, before the feast broke up,*

*To drink the master-bevel, the peremptory cup.*

cence

cence and desire to entertain, they were augmented ¶ to seven. The first was of sallads of lettices and olives ; with which oysters of the lake Lucrinus, so famous for that shell-fish, and other the like things to excite the appetite, were served up. The second was composed of roast-meats, and the most substantial dishes, amongst which dishes of fish were always intermixed, of which they were such great lovers, that without them they would not have thought themselves well entertained. And for the third service, it was composed of fruits and pastry. There were domestics, whose peculiar office it was to preside at the disposition of the dishes, and served as *Maitres d' hotel* in France ; some to take care of the distribution of the wines ; and others, to cut \* the victuals, in quality of carvers. There were even servants who during the summer did nothing but drive away the flies with great fans made of feathers, which had an handle, as some antique relievos represent. The void left at one end of the table made it easy for the domestics to serve in this manner. They loved mulled wines. Horace speaks of that of † Falernus, mingled with honey to render it the more agreeable. There were not cloths on the tables ; but

VI.  
Mulled  
wines.  
Plin. l. 13.  
C. 3.  
VII.  
No table-  
cloths.

- || ————— Quis fercula septem  
Secreto cœnavit avus? Juv. Sat. I.  
Or which of our fore-fathers fared so well,  
As on seven dishes at a private meal? Dryden.  
\* Saltantem spectes, & chironomonta volanti  
Cultello. ————— Juv. Sat V.  
The carver dancing round each dish surveys  
With flying knife. Dryden.  
† — Nisi Hymettia mella Falerno  
Ne biberis diluta. ————— Hor. L. 2. Sat. ii.  
— Nor drink Falernian wine  
Unless Hymettus' honey with it join.

VIII.  
*Table-*  
*cloths first*  
*used.*  
 Lampr. in  
 vit. Alex.  
 Sever.  
 Mart. l. 12.  
 Ep. 29.  
 Catull.  
 Ep. 2.

they were || cleaned before every course with a wet sponge, at which time the guests also washed their hands. They had also a manner of substituting to the first service, another table entirely covered; and so on with all the rest to the end of the entertainment. It was not till under the last Emperors that the Romans began to use table-cloths, which were at first striped with purple and even gold. When they went to eat at the houses of others, they caused a napkin to be brought, which, when they returned, served for their domestics to carry home some pieces of the supper. They might even send some of it to their wife or a friend, without its being thought extraordinary. A guest had also the liberty of bringing a friend with him; and that supernumerary was called a \* *Shadow*, in allusion to the shadow that follows the body; as those who came of themselves without being invited or brought by some of the guests were called *Flies*; alluding in like manner to those troublesome insects. Good cheer was not the only pleasure of the entertainment; music had often a share in it. Women-singers, and performers upon instruments, were admitted, or else the guests themselves supplied their place. Dancers, mimes, and pantomimes,

IX.  
*Diversions*  
*with*  
*which*  
*feasts were*  
*attended.*  
 Plut. in  
 vit. Lucull.

|| His ubi sublatis, puer altè cinctus acernam  
 Gausape purpureo mensam perterisit, & alter  
 Sublegit quodcunque jaceret inutile.

*Id.* L. II. Sat. viii.

*This dish remov'd, two ready servants come,  
 One clean'd the table, & other swept the room,  
 And gather'd up the reliëts of the feast,  
 The bones, and all that might offend the guest.* Creech.

\* Si memini, Varius, cum Servilio Balatrone  
 Vibidius; quos Mecænas adduxerat umbras.

*Hor.* L. II. Sat. viii.

See note, p. 74, 75.

who

who represented scenes in dumb-shew, were also called in, and another sort of people, a kind of jesters, whose profession it was to tell pleasant stories to make the company laugh. Even † works of wit were read there: in a word, they endeavoured to groupe whatever could amuse and divert. As they supped at the ninth hour, that is to say three hours before sun-set; (for we must not forget, that their hours were different from ours, being much shorter in winter and much longer in summer,) that was beginning in sufficiently good time, for uniting all these diversions with the only meal they had in the day. For in the morning they ate only a little bread to break their fast; and their dinner, which they did not take till the fifth hour, was hardly more considerable, consisting only of some fruits, according to the season. And as to eating between meals, none did that except artificans and workmen, who, according to the antient custom, supped at sun-set; so that only the supper deserved to be considered as a meal. That was the only time they could pass in domestic pleasures; because, as we have said before, their affairs, public and private, the Shews and exercises of the body, employed them from home, till the time they went to supper. These two last occupations, which were of the number of pleasures, served them instead of our private amusements: for gaming was not so common amongst them, as amongst us. There were

X.  
*Hour of supper.*  
Mart. l. 4.  
Ep. 8.

XI.  
*Of the breakfast.*  
Ibid. l. 20.  
c. 2.

XII.  
*Of the dinner.*  
Suet. in vit. Aug.

Ibid. l. 20.  
c. 20.  
Plut. Quæst. Conv. l. 8.  
Qu. 6.

XIII.  
*Of games of chance.*

† ————Ecce inter pocula quærunt  
Romulidæ saturi, quid dia poemata narrant.  
*Perf. Sat. I.*  
*Who by their fathers is at feasts renown'd,*  
*And often quoted when the bowls go round.* Dryden.



Suet. in  
vit. Aug.  
& Claud.

even \* laws, that prohibited games of chance, which prohibitions were sufficiently well observed, as long as the Commonwealth subsisted. But the games of chance being the taste of several Emperors, they got the better of the laws, and became so common, that † Juvenal declaims strongly in his Satires against those who ruined themselves by them. The games of chance of the Romans, of which the knowledge has come down to us, were played with a kind of dice. That called || *Talus*, was played at with throwing four of

\* ——— Nescit equo rudis  
Hære ingenuus puer,  
Venarique timet, ludere doctior  
Seu Græco jubeas trocho,  
Seu malis vetitâ legibus aleâ.

Hor. L. III. Od. xxiv.

*Now to the noble youth 'tis too much pain  
The steed's impetuous fire to rein;  
To risque the many dangers of the chace:  
But softer arts of these take place;  
To play at billiards with Sir Courtly Nice,  
And curse the barb'rous laws, that would abolish dice.*

† ——— Alea quando  
Hos animos? neque enim oculis comitantibus itur  
Ad casum tabulæ, posita sed luditur arca.  
Prælia quanta illic dispensatore videbis  
Armigero! simplexne furor festertia centum  
Perdere; & horrenti tunicam non reddere servo?

Juv. Sat. I.

*When were the dice with more profusion thrown?  
The well fill'd sob's not emptied now alone,  
But gamesters for whole patrimonies play;  
The steward brings the deeds which must convey  
The lost estate: What more than madness reigns,  
When one short sitting many hundreds drains,  
And not enough is left him to supply  
Board-wages, or a footman's livery?* Dryden.

|| ——— Postquam illi iusta chiragra  
Contudit articulos; qui pro se tolleret, atque  
Mitteret in phimum *Talos*, mercede diurna  
Conductum pavit.—— Hor. L. II. Sat. vii.

*Struck by the gout, just offspring of the pox,  
Who keeps a wretch, to put his dice ith' box.*

those

those dice † at once; and when three fixes came up, the cast was called *Venus*, which swept all the money staked: *Tessera*, another, was played only with three dice † upon a table marked like a chequer: and that of even and odd, was much used amongst them. They had also another game, which they called *Latrunculi*, that did not depend upon chance, but upon the skill of the gamesters. They did not use dice in it, but certain figures which they disposed upon a chequer, as is done at chess, to which it came very near. These were their domestic games: but often, when the Emperors gave entertainments, before they began, by way of amusement, they caused a lottery to be drawn, of which all the tickets that were distributed *gratis* amongst the guests, gained some jewel, or other prize. The Emperor Heliogabalus had one, that he composed out of pleasantry, of which half the tickets were beneficial, and the other half gained only ridiculous things of no value. There was, for instance, in one ticket six slaves, in another six flies; in one a vase of value, and in another an earthen pot; and so on of the rest.

These lotteries were an ingenious and gallant contrivance for displaying their liberality, and rendering the feast more lively and affecting, in putting the guests into a good humour beforehand.

† ———— Effigies quo  
Tot bellatorum, si luditur *alea* pernox  
Ante Numantinos? *Juv. Sat. VIII.*  
'Tis meer burlesque, that to our gen'ral's praise  
Their progeny immortal statues raise,  
Yet (far from that old gallantry) delight  
To game before their images all night. *Stepney.*  
|| ———— Hunc *alea* decoquit. ———— *Perf. Sat. V.*

## CHAPTER XII.

- I. *Of the meats of the Romans.* II. *Of the diet of the first Romans.* III. *Wine prohibited to women.* IV. *Of vintages.* V. *Old wine esteemed.* VI. *Laws for retrenching the luxury of the table.* VII. *Supper given Cicero and Pompey by Lucullus.* VIII. *Lucullus compared to Curius Dentatus.*

I.  
Of the  
meats of  
the Ro-  
mans.  
Plin. l. 8.  
c. 51.  
Id. l. 10.  
c. 20 & 22.

**B**UT to return to the meals of the Romans, the meat which they most frequently used, was pork; as for extraordinaries, they gave venison and wild and tame fowl: but \* peacocks, cranes of Malta, and † nightingales, were considered as delicious meats. It is related, that one Cn. Aufidius Lucro, having discovered a method of fattening peacocks, got every year sixty thousand sesterces by the sale of them. Lucullus, famous for the expence of his table, caused thrushes to be fattened, and had them all the year round.

It appears, as may be collected from authors of those times, that the profusion of provisions

\* Vix tamen eripiam, posito pavone velis quin  
Hoc potiùs quam gallinâ tergere palatum,  
Corruptus vanis rerum: quia veneat auro  
Rara avis, & pictâ pandat spectacula caudâ.

Hor. L. II. Sat. ii.

*Yet can I scarce prevail to make you take  
The barn-door fowl, and peacock's flesh forsake:  
'Tis scarce, 'tis dear, attract and please you so,  
And the gay spreading train, a raree-show.*

† Quinti progenies Arrâ, par nobile fratrum,  
Nequitia, & nugis, pravorum & amore, gemellum,  
Luscinias soliti impenso prandere coemptas,  
Quorsum abeant sani? creta an carbone notandi?

Hor. L. II. Sat. iii.

*The sons of Arrus, those of high renown,  
Those famous bully-brothers of the town,  
The most agreeing pair in ev'ry vice,  
Still fed on nightingales of costly price:*

*And were they mad or sober, fools or wise? Creech. }*

was

was the reigning taste ; and that they made the merit of an entertainment consist as much in that, as in rare and exquisite dishes, of which the delicacy alone would not have satisfied, if abundance had not been united with it. For whole wild-boars were served up, in which sometimes other things, whole also, were put : those other things were so disposed in them, that the last were always the least, to the bigness of a nightingale. A wild-boar prepared in this manner, was called a Trojan wild-boar, in allusion to the <sup>Spartian.</sup> horse full of troops, by which the city of Troy <sup>in vit. Eli.</sup> was taken. Pyramids of fowl and game of all kinds were also served : whence we ought to be the less surprized at that prodigious dish of Claudius's freed-man, which for its immense magnitude might have served for a table.

But if we go back to the early times, we shall find that the Romans lived almost solely upon milk, herbs, and roots, which they cultivated and dressed with their own hands ; and that their nourishment, during a considerable length of time, consisted only of a kind of gross \* pap, composed of meal and boiling water, which served them instead of bread ; that when they began to use bread, they had none for a great while but of unmixed rye ; and that very long under the Commonwealth, wine was so scarce about Rome, that in the sacrifices, the libations to the Gods were made only with milk. Wine did not become common there till about the six

II.

*Of the diet  
of the first  
Romans.*

Val. Max.

l. 2. c. 5.

\* *Ponebant igitur Tusco farrata catino*

*Omnia tunc.*

*Juv. Sat. XI.*

*But earthen platters held the homely mess. Congreve.*

— *Altera cœna*

*Amplior, & grandes fumabant pultibus ollæ.*

*Juv. Sat. XIV.*

*Gigantic bins, as soon as work was done,*

*To their huge pots of boiling pulse would run.*

*Mr. J. Dryden, junr.*

*hun.*



## III.

*Wine prohibited to women.*

Plin. l. 14.  
c. 12 & 13.  
Val. Max.  
l. 4. c. 1.

hundredth year from its foundation, when vines were planted. It was in these times of simplicity, that women were prohibited to drink it; and for that reason their near relations were permitted to salute them, when they came to their houses, in order to smell whether they had drank any; which if discovered gave their husbands a right to punish them. According to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Romulus was both the author of the law which permitted an husband to kill his wife, if he found her in adultery, and to punish wives that drank wine with death. Valerius Maximus relates, that one Egnatius Merellus having killed his wife, whom he found drinking wine out of the cask, Romulus acquitted him of the murder. Fabius Pictor says also, that a Roman lady having picked the lock of a chest in which were the keys of the place where the wine was kept, her parents starved her to death: men were also forbade to drink it till the age of thirty. Tertullian, in his Apologetic, mentions the laws by which these prohibitions were made; and says, they ordained, that not above an hundred pence should be expended upon an entertainment, and that only one fowl should be served up in it, and that not fattened. But towards the declension of the Commonwealth, and under the first Emperors, the women were not only accustomed to drink wine, but carried the excess of it as far as the men.

## IV.

*Of the vintage.*

Herod. l. 8.

The vintage was considered as a time of diversion, in which those employed in it, had the liberty of jeering all passengers, who had no right to complain. The vines were planted at the feet of trees, and made to creep up them, in order to form bowers, as is still practised in Italy. The wine was preserved in great earthen vessels,

vessels, well stopped with pitch; though they were not ignorant of the method of making casks; for they used them for carrying it from place to place, as well as tanned skins of beasts, and green goat-skins, The older\* the wine was, the more it was in esteem: to know its age, they marked the year upon the vessel. They preserved it an hundred years and upwards: for which purpose they put it in an upper room, and not in vaults as we do, which appears no less extraordinary than their † custom of warming water to drink in summer as well as winter.

They carried the luxury and debauch of the table so far, that there was a necessity for making new laws to retrench them: but they were little observed. Tacitus remarks, that the extraordinary luxury of the table prevailed about an hundred years, having began about the time of the battle of Actium, and continued till the reign of the Emperor Galba. However, we may judge to what an excess it had attained, even before the battle of Pharsalia, which was

V.

*Old wine esteemed.*

VI.

*Laws for retrenching the luxury of the table. Tacit. l. 3.*

\* O nata mecum Consule Manlio,  
Seu tu querelas, five geris jocos,  
Seu rixam, & insanos amores,  
Seu facilem, pia testa, somnum:  
Quocumque lectum nomine Massicum  
Servas, moveri, &c. *Hor. L. III. Od. xxi.*

*You, my good cask, are of a date  
With Consul Manlius, and me;  
Produce your charge whate'er it be,  
Or love, or strife, or loud debate,  
Or gentle sleep, or wit serenely free.  
On such a day, for such a friend,  
With Massic juice our souls refine.* *Creech.*

† ——— Quis aquam temperet ignibus,  
Quo præbente domum ———  
————— taces. *Id. L. III. Od. xix.*

*Who warms the water for our wine,  
Or where we sup, your house or mine.*

VII.  
*Supper given Cicero  
 and Pompey by Lucullus.*

prior to the other by twenty years, from what Plutarch relates in the life of Lucullus, whose table was supposed to be the best, and most splendidly served. Cicero and Pompey concerted between them to have the pleasure of taking him unprovided; and being alone with Lucullus, told him, they would sup with him, upon condition that he would not speak to his servants, to order any thing extraordinary. He agreed, and only said before them, that he would sup in the room Apollo. The magnificence of the services surprized Cicero and Pompey the more, as, not having left him, he had not had opportunity to give particular orders. But after Lucullus had for some time enjoyed the pleasure of their surprize, he confessed to them, that as soon as his servants knew in what room he was to eat, they were thereby instructed as to the order, quantity, and quality, of the courses, and the expence of the supper; that being regulated for every apartment. The expence of the Apollo was fixed at fifty thousand drachmas of silver, which according to the present value of that metal, amounted to above twelve hundred and fifty pounds. This instance suffices to shew, to what an height the luxury of Rome and the riches of her citizens rose. It was the same Lucullus who caused those fine gardens to be made at Rome, which afterwards were the Emperors; and who, to preserve sea-fish, and to have them when he would at his table, caused canals to be made, for bringing the salt water into reservoirs at his country-house near Naples. It is said also, that it was he who caused a way in the form of a grotto to be cut through the rocky mountain of Pausilypum, which is said to be the same through which people actually pass at this day in the way from Naples to Puzzuolo. He was

no less sumptuous in dress : for a Roman Prætor, who was to give games to the public, desiring him to lend him an hundred purple robes for the actors, Lucullus answered, that he could lend him two hundred, if he wanted them. This was having a very well furnished wardrobe ; and we may conjecture that the store-room, where the moveables were kept, was no less so. But VIII. to go back only two hundred years, and com- *Lucullus* pare Lucullus with M' Curius Dentatus, who *compared* was Consul in the year 462 from the foundation *with M'* of Rome, we shall have a very singular con- *Curius* *Dentatus.* trast.

When the ambassadors of the Samnites came Val. Max. to treat with that Consul, they found him at ta- l. 4. c. 3. ble sitting on a bench, and eating herbs out of an earthen dish. That extreme indigence of the chief magistrate of the Commonwealth, having struck the ambassadors at first, they believed they might take the advantage it seemed to give them, for endeavouring to engage him in their interests ; and took occasion to offer him in the name of their nation a considerable sum of money : but he refused it with a smile of contempt, and told them, that he chose rather to command the rich, than to be so himself ; and that they should remember, he was neither to be overcome in arms, nor corrupted with presents. This stroke is certainly admirable, if too much pride were not discernible in his answer : but that ought not to be deemed a personal vice, which was common to his whole nation. This contrast agrees the better, as both these Romans were of Consular dignity, had both had the honour of triumph, and as nothing can better image the different manner of living at these different periods.



## CHAPTER XIII.

- I. Of physicians. II. Institution of hot baths.  
 III. Of bakers. IV. Of arts and sciences, V.  
 Of architecture. VI. Of sculpture. VII. Of  
 painting.

Plin. l. 26.  
 c. 1.

**T**HE luxury of the table, and the excesses with which it was attended, introduced diseases the Romans had not known before.

I. The art of physic, for which they had hitherto expressed so much repugnance, seemed necessary to them; for they had been very long without being willing to admit it amongst them, having only tolerated it in the time of the plague. They considered it as superfluous, and even prejudicial. Though in the 535th year from the

Plin. l. 29.  
 c. 1.

foundation of Rome, some physicians had come from Greece to Rome, they had however no fixed establishment till the year six hundred. Physic at that time included Pharmacy and Surgery. The physicians not only composed medicines, but performed all chirurgical operations themselves, though they had then but a very imperfect knowledge of anatomy, which did not begin to be cultivated till about two ages ago. As long as the Romans led an hard and laborious life, they had dispensed with the want of physicians, without having been the worse in consequence. They had not thought in the

II.  
*Institution  
 of hot  
 baths.*  
 Plin. l. 7.  
 c. 60.

same manner in respect to hot baths, as in the 454th year from the foundation of Rome, they began to use them. Some years before they had caused barbers to come from Sicily. Pliny tells us, that till then, it had not been the custom amongst them to cut their hair, or to shave.

We

We may judge, from this little care of their persons, the hard and gross life which they led. Their simple manners, the institutions of their founder, and of the Commonwealth, which prohibited the exercise of any other professions but those of arms and agriculture, had given them a contempt for all other arts; so that they left commerce and trades to strangers and slaves. Hence it was only in proportion as luxury and effeminacy gained ground, that arts and trades began to introduce themselves at Rome. For as long as the Romans confined themselves to the simple necessities of life, they either prepared them with their own hands, or employed their slaves in doing so; so that no public baker was seen in Rome till the year 580; every body making their own bread and even meal at home. For the Romans had no mills, but bruised their corn in mortars with a pestle by strength of arms to extract the flower. They were so much accustomed to do every thing themselves, that long after the introduction of luxury, the ladies continued to employ themselves in spinning wool; and we find that the Emperor Augustus scarce wore any habits which were not made either by his wife, daughter, or nieces. To put a stop to the progress of the corruption of manners, it was thought proper in 636. to banish from Rome by a decree of the Censors, all the arts which ministered only to pleasure, except the players upon the flute, because they were employed in the ceremonies of religion. Julius Cæsar made also some regulations for retrenching luxury. He prohibited litters, purple robes, and jewels; permitting only persons of a certain age and quality to wear them, and those only some days of the year. But the

III.

*Of bakers.*

Plin. l. 18.

c. 11.

St. Aug.

de Civit.

Dei, l. 6.

c. 9.

Suet. in

vit. Aug.

modera-

moderation of Augustus was of more efficacy against luxury, than all these ordinances. Under his successor, they were but a weak fence against a torrent, which every day became more impetuous. The corruption of manners, luxury, and effeminacy continually augmented, till they at length occasioned the ruin of the empire.

- IV. *Of arts and sciences.* Every body knows, that the time when the arts and sciences were in their highest lustre at Rome, was that of Augustus: the delicate taste and superior genius of that Prince did not a little contribute to their improvement. The latter did not support themselves there so long as the former, of which the decline did not appear sensible, till after the Emperor Septimius Severus, when the arts degenerated. Those in which the Romans succeeded best after the Greeks, were architecture and sculpture. However, it is obvious from the works in relief come down to us, that they were no great masters of the rules of perspective; for we find houses, towers, and other edifices in them, of which the distances are so ill observed, that the human figures near them, are larger than the buildings themselves; though in other respects the workmanship is highly finished. To prove this we have only to see the designs that have been taken of the columns of Trajan and Antonine. As to their statues, and particularly those that are naked, far from appearing to want art, it is observed, besides the elegance of the contours, and the just proportions, that they have an exactness of anatomy, which seems the more admirable, as the Romans had but a very imperfect knowledge of that science. But it is to be believed, that
- V. *Of architecture.*
- VI. *Of sculpture.*

that the frequent Shews, wherein the wrestlers and gladiators combated naked, making them familiarly acquainted with all the different exterior motions of the muscles, nerves, and organs, served them instead of a school of anatomy. Besides which, the number of statues was so prodigious at Rome, either on account of the multitude of divinities adored there, or of the great men, to whom they were erected out of gratitude for their services, that this part of sculpture must have been much more cultivated, than any other art. Hence it is not surprising, that they attained to that height of correctness and elegance, which we observe in the statues come down to us.

As to paintings, it is not said that they carried them to so high a perfection as the Greeks. VII. *Of painting.* We must refer ourselves on this subject to the authors who speak of it; works of this kind not being a sufficient proof against the injuries of time like those of architecture and sculpture, we cannot judge of them ourselves, as of the others, of which many still subsist; unless we are satisfied to form a general judgment upon a single piece, or one at least considered as \* such, because the most entire of all that have been discovered to the present time. It is a small piece of a wall, found near Rome amongst the ruins of antiquity, upon which the cere-

\* There is another piece of the same kind of painting in fresco in the Musæum of Dr. Mead. It represents Augustus in a pavilion giving a diadem to some Prince, whose figure is effaced, with Mæcenus, Agrippa, and other courtiers attending. It was found about

three years ago in the ruins of the palace of Augustus Cæsar upon mount Palatine. There is a fine print of it, done by Baron, inserted in the article of painting in the History of the Arts and Sciences of the Antients, translated from the French of M. Rollin.



mony of a marriage is painted in *fresco*. It is commonly called the Aldobrandine marriage, because it is preserved in the Aldobrandine palace. It is set in a wall, and covered with a case, in which it is locked up. This fragment is entire enough in respect to what it contains: the colours are not very much faded, though so many ages have elapsed since it was painted, and it is only in water-colours; the secret of painting in oil not having been discovered till about three centuries ago. It is observed from it, that they were ignorant of the art of distributing lights, and of using shades to advantage: which gives reason to conjecture, that painting had not attained to the degree of perfection, wherein it is at present.

CHAPTER XIV.

I. *Division of the year.* II. *The Julian year.*  
 III. *Year of the foundation of Rome.* IV. *Manner of dating by Consulships.* V. *Of new-year's gifts.* VI. *Division of the months.*

**A**FTER having seen the division made by the Romans of the day, it is not improper to know that of the year and months.

Romulus made the year begin with the month of March, and to consist only of ten months. I. Division of the year. Plut. Quæst. Rom. 14.  
 The first day of the year, which was the first of that month, the mistresses waited upon the slaves of their own sex at supper, as the masters did upon the men-slaves at the time of the *Saturnalia*, which was to excite them to serve well during the rest of the year.

Numa afterwards reformed this distribution of the year, and divided it into twelve months, making it begin with January. This division, though less defective than the first, was still subject to great errors, which Julius Cæsar corrected, with the assistance of the famous mathematician Sosigenes of Alexandria, in making the year consist of three hundred and sixty five days and six hours, which before was only three hundred and fifty-four, and one day that Numa had added to them out of superstition, to make the number odd, which made twelve Lunar months. But Julius Cæsar, because there was six hours remaining every year, invented the Bissextile, which is a natural day, or twenty-four hours added to each fourth year. The reformation of the calendar, with which the year II. Julian year.  
 called

called Julian from Julius Cæsar began, was made forty-five years before the Christian Æra, to reckon from the circumcision of Jesus Christ, and not from his birth, which happened in December, in the seven hundred and eighth year from the foundation of Rome.

III. It is said, that the foundations of Rome were *Year of the foundation of Rome.* began the twenty-first of April, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad.

IV. Besides the manner of reckoning the years *Manner of dating with the Consulship.* from its foundation, the Romans, immediately after the institution of the Commonwealth, dated also with the year of the Consulship, in imitation of the Athenians, who fixed their chronology by the year of the Archons. This was the more commodious, as the Consuls were annual, and entered upon office the first day of every year, which was the first of January. But in process of time, as the Emperors often created several the same year, the names only of those, who had been Consuls in the beginning of the year, were used in the dates.

V. It was usual on that day to wish one another happiness, and to send presents. Under *Of new-year's gifts.* the Emperors this was become so much the custom in regard to them, that all the courtiers and principal citizens carried them new-year's gifts. *Herod. l. 1. Dio. Cass. l. 54.*

VI. As to the months, they divided each of them *Division of the months.* into three parts; that is to say, the Calends, the Nones, and the Ides. The first was called *Plut. Quæst. Rom. 24.* *Calends* from the old Latin word *calare* to call; because antiently one of the minor Pontiffs called the people together that day, to declare the festivals to them, and how many days there were to the *Nones*, which differed according to the month; and from this word *Calends* is derived the word *Calendar*. The *Nones* so called, because

cause nine days before the ides, usually happened the fifth of the month. Four months they fell upon the seventh, March, May, July, and October. In the first case, the second of the month was dated IV. *Nonas*, the preposition *ante* being understood; the third, *tertio Nonas*; the fourth, *pridie Nonas*; and so of the second, always decreasing. All the months had eight *Ides*, which began on the thirteenth or fifteenth, according as the month had more or less nones. Thus the next day after the nones, they said VIII. *Idus*, the eighth before the ides, and the day following VII. *Idus*, the seventh, decreasing daily to the eve of the ides, which it was the custom, as in respect to the nones, to call the day before the ides, *pridie Idus*. After the ides, it was necessary to reckon how many days there were to the calends, or the first of the next month. The months of thirty-one days, which have only four days of nones, as January, August and December, had each nineteen days wrote *ante Calendas*, or XIX. *Calendas*, &c. March, May, July, and October, which have thirty-one days, of which six were marked with the word *Nones*, had only seventeen days *ante Calendas*, XVII. *Calendas*, &c. April, June, September and November, which have thirty days, have four nones and eighteen *ante Calendas*. February has only sixteen. Thus, for the month of January, they said the nineteenth before the calends of February: but for the greater facility, and to avoid error, it is best to turn upon occasion to the Roman Calendar at the end of *Ainsworth's Dictionary*. The Romans often used the word calends for that of months, and said three calends for three months.



## CHAPTER XV.

- I. *Calends, time for payments.* II. *Of usury.*  
 III. *Interests of money.* IV. *Of bankers.*  
 V. *Of the great place, or Forum Romanum.*  
 VI. *Of the tribunal for harangues.* VII. *Of the milliary pillar, from whence the miles of Italy were computed.*

I.  
*Calends,*  
*time for*  
*payments.*  
 Plut.  
 Quæst.  
 Rom. 25.

THE superstition of the Romans made them imagine the days after the nones, ides, and calends, unfortunate. As for the morrow after the last, it might well be considered as unlucky by those who had it not in their power to satisfy their creditors; for the \* calends were the fixed days for payments, it being the custom amongst them to lend money at so much *per cent. per month.* And as usury was one of their predominant vices, which had subsisted from the beginning of the Commonwealth, and which had occasioned many seditions, the laws of the twelve tables had regulated the interest of loans at one *per cent. per month.* It was at length reduced to half, which made six *per cent. per annum.* But notwithstanding all these ordinances, they had such a pro-

III.  
*Interests of*  
*money.*  
 Plin. l. 14.  
 c. 4.  
 Tacit. l. 6.

\* Odisti & fugis, ut Drusonem debitor æris:  
 Qui nisi, cum tristes misero venere Calendæ,  
 Mercede aut nummos unde unde extricat, amaras  
 Porrecto jugulo historias captivus ut audit.

Hor. L. I. Sat. iii.

*Tusidius rich in money out at use,  
 And lands, yet fears to be esteem'd profuse;  
 For five times double he will sums engage;  
 And sues young heirs when newly come to age:  
 The greatest prodigals he presses most,  
 And lends them money till their lands are lost.*

Creech.  
 penfity

penalty to usury, and it became so † excessive from time to time, that it was necessary to add still farther regulations. It was in the Forum that the bankers kept their offices, as well as those who received the revenues of the Commonwealth. In every city of Italy not entirely inconsiderable, there was a company of bankers, who kept their counting-houses in the public place. People deposited their money with them, in order to improve it; and also applied to them, when they had occasion to borrow at interest. When they had set down the name of any one in their books, That amounted to an obligation; and their accounts were admitted as evidence in law.

What was called at Rome the *Forum Romanum*, occupied the place now called *Campo Vaccino*. This place, which was adorned with several temples, was surrounded with porticos and galleries, in which were shops, where all sorts of merchandize were sold. This place served for many uses: for it was a market; the *Ædiles* and *Prætors* exhibited the public games in it; it served also for the assemblies of the people on public affairs; and the *Prætor* rendered justice there. There was in it a place covered over, where stood the tribunal for harangues, called *Rostrum*, because adorned with the beaks of the ships, which had been taken

IV.

Of bankers

V.

Of the Forum Romanum.

VI.

Of the tribunal for harangues.

† *Dives agris, dives positus in scenore nummis*  
*Quinas hic capiti Merces exsecat; atque*  
*Quanto perditior quisque est, tanto acrius urget:*  
*Hor. L. I. Sat. ix.*

————— *Druso, that notorious dun*  
*Who when the Calends come severely sues,*  
*And if the debtor does not pay the use,*  
*He's clapt in goal, and bears a tedious bill,*  
*A killing scrol, item and item still.*

Creech.  
 from

from the Antiates in the first sea-fight gained by the Romans the 416th year from the foundation of Rome. It was from this tribunal that laws were proposed to the People, and they were treated with upon all affairs in general. In a part of this place they also elected certain magistrates: it was called the *Comitium*, because in the beginning the people assembled there, when only the *Comitia Curiata*, or assemblies by *Curiae*, took place. Those who aspired at dignities came thither to canvass suffrages. These different occasions always drew thither a great concourse of people. Besides which it was the custom of the Romans to assemble in the Forum, to transact their private affairs, as well as those of the public. It was in this place the Emperor Augustus caused the milliary pillar, called *Milliarium Aureum*, to be erected, from which, as from the centre of the capital of the empire, they reckoned the miles to all the different places of Italy.

VII.  
*The milli-*  
*ary pillar.*  
 Suet. in  
 vit. Aug.

CHAPTER XVI.

- I. *Of distances.* II. *Of the Roman foot.* III. *Of land-measure.* IV. *Of the Basilicæ.* V. *Of liquid measure.* VI. *Of the Roman pound.* VII. *Of the shambles, and public granaries.*

**D**ISTANCES of place was reckoned I. amongst the Romans by a thousand geometrical paces, of five feet each ; and by *stadia*<sup>ces.</sup> or furlongs, which consisted of an hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces, or six hundred and twenty-five feet. The Roman foot was II. about an inch less than the French, and was divided two ways, that is to say, into sixteen digits, which were its least parts, and twelve inches. They also used another measure, which was the Roman *Palm*. That which they called the common palm, was three inches or four digits ; and the great palm was twelve digits or nine inches. Four and twenty *stadia*, or three miles, made an ordinary French league. From III. that pillar, on the great ways or roads, were stones at the end of every mile in the form of pillars, on which the number of miles from thence to the milliary pillar at Rome were marked. After the example of the capital, the principal cities of the empire caused milliary pillars to be set up in the midst of them. As to the manner of measuring land, they had other measures, the particulars of which are as follow. The Roman perch was ten feet ; the *Clima* contained sixty feet every way ; the lesser *Actus* was an hundred and twenty feet long by four broad ; the square *Actus* was an hundred

*Of distances.*  
*Of the Roman foot.*  
*Of land-measure.*  
*Plut. in vit. Græc.*  
*Of land-measure.*  
*lbid. l. 15. c. 15.*  
*Plin. l. 18. c. 3.*  
*Varr. de Rur. l. 1. c. 10.*



and twenty feet on all sides ; and two square *Actus* made the *Jugerum*, which was as much land as a yoke of oxen could plow in one day. The *Versus* was also a square measure of land, of an hundred paces every way ; and the *Hæredium* contained two *Jugera* :

IV.  
Of the  
Basilicæ.

Rome in process of time became too large and populous for the Forum alone to contain its assemblies : there were several others where markets were also kept ; but the first was always called the *Forum*, by way of eminence, because the most antient. In most of these places the vast buildings, called *Basilicæ*, were erected, which were of an oblong form, adorned with colonnades and porticos open on all sides. Justice was dispenced here ; and under the porticos merchants assembled, as in the places called exchanges in great trading cities : at the entrance of them all sorts of merchandises were sold. There were to the number of twenty *Basilicæ* at Rome, when it was in its most flourishing condition.

V.  
Of liquid  
measure.

We must observe, that almost all commodities were sold by weight at Rome, to which even liquid measures were reduced.

It will not be improper to give the names of those measures in this place ; from the weight of some of which, it will be easy to know that of each in particular.

The \* *Culeus* held twenty *amphoræ*.

The *Amphora*, forty *urnæ*.

The *Urna*, four *Congii*.

The *Congius* contained the weight of ten pounds or six *Sextarii*.

\* The *Culeus* contained 520 quarts, and the *Amphora* a little less than 26, according to the observation of a famous modern.

The *Sextarius*, two *Heminæ*, or *Cotylæ*.

We must observe that there were two kinds of *Sextarii*; that called *Castrensis*, or of the army, which held twice as much as the other: the common *Sextarius* weighed twenty ounces.

Plin. l. 7.

c. 20.

Id. l. 35.

c. 12.

Id. l. 14.

The *Hemina* contained two *Quartarii*.

c. 22.

The *Quartarius* contained two *cyathi*, and an half.

Montfauc.  
Antiq.

The *Cyathus* was subdivided into other smaller measures, about which all authors do not agree.

The Roman pound consisted only of twelve ounces, as it does to this day at Rome: but it is said to have been heavier by about an ounce.

VI.

Of the

Roman

pound.

Amongst the other buildings remarkable for their magnificence were reckoned the shambles and public granaries, that were great structures, of which the inside formed a great square, surrounded with porticos and a colonnade. For the Romans, out of a wise precaution, had usually corn for above a year in Rome, in order to support plenty, and not to be distressed in times of dearth. The price of it was taxed, and it was sold out of these granaries. The tribute which some provinces of the empire paid in corn, served to fill these granaries.

VII.

Of the

shambles

and public

granaries.

## CHAPTER XVII.

I. *Of the field of Mars.* II. *Of the exercises in the field of Mars.* III. *Of slaves.* IV. *Of sales by auction.* V. *Punishment of prodigals.* VI. *Chastisement of slaves.* VII. *Of the enfranchisement of slaves.* VIII. *Manner of making slaves free.* IX. *Duties of freedmen to their masters.*

I.  
*Of the  
field of  
Mars.*

THE field of Mars was considered as the most considerable place next to the *Forum Romanum*. It was so called from a small temple in it dedicated to that God. It was situated without the walls of the city near the Tiber, and was much larger than any of the other public places. It was there that the great assemblies of the people for the muster, called *Census* or *Lustrum*, were held, which was made every five years. The great magistrates, as the Consuls, Censors, and Tribunes, were elected in it. The levies of the armies were made there; the dead bodies of the principal citizens and Emperors were burnt there; the Roman youth went thither to exercise themselves in riding, driving chariots, running foot-races, shooting with the bow, using the sling, darting the javelin, and throwing the *Discus* or quoit. It was also here, that the generals, who came to Rome to demand the honour of a triumph, halted with their troops; for they were not allowed to enter the city, whilst they made that demand. Here also was an house for the reception and lodging of foreign ambassadors. It was at first only a simple plain, or meadow  
near

near the Tiber, as the name which it had retained from thence shews: but the edifices after erected in it, made it a magnificent place, tho' without the walls of the city: for the Capitol being no longer sufficiently large to receive all the statues and trophies of the great men of the Commonwealth, they were set up in the field of Mars, which contributed very much to its embellishment. We must not believe that only the youth addicted themselves to these military exercises. They were so much the taste of the Romans, that they continued the use of them, as long as health and vigour of body would permit.

II.

*Of the exercises in the field of Mars.*

Marius, Pompey, Julius Cæsar, and all the great captains of the Commonwealth, took pleasure in exercising themselves in public, and to shew their address even at the most advanced age. Plutarch informs us, that Marius not having been able to obtain the command of the armies against Mithridates, which was given to Sylla, affected, though old and worn out with the fatigues of war, to repair every day to the *Campus Martius*, where he exercised himself amongst the youth, and shewed that he was still able to handle his arms. After having observed to what excess the Romans carried the luxury of their tables, furniture, and buildings, it is not improper to speak of the great number of their slaves, in which part of their luxury consisted: for the riches of a citizen were computed from the number of his slaves. They valued themselves upon having so prodigious a multitude of them, that they were usually distinguished by nations. It were easy to quote many Roman citizens, of whom each had above twenty thousand slaves in his service. They were

*Plut. in vit. Mar.*

*Tacit. l. 3*



III. were distinguished into three sorts : those who  
*Of slaves.* had been taken in war, that were usually sold  
 by auction ; those bought of dealers, who traf-  
 ficked for them in markets ; and lastly those  
 born in their master's houses of fathers and mo-  
 thers that were slaves. But before we enter into  
 IV. a farther detail, it is necessary to explain in  
*Of sales*  
*by auction.*  
 Liv. l. 6. what manner sales by auction, which were called  
*sub hasta*, were made amongst the Romans. A  
 spear or short pike was planted, where the  
 criers stood, who like our auctioneers, sold the  
 things put up to the highest bidder. This cus-  
 tom might owe its origin to something of the  
 like nature practised before the tribunal of the  
 Prætor, where the same kind of weapon was  
 planted, when he gave audience. The same  
 was done in the public sales, probably to denote  
 that they were made according to law.

As to the slaves, whom the dealers exposed  
 to sale in the markets, some carried a garland  
 or wreath of flowers on their heads, to shew  
 Aul Gell. they were to be sold ; others a kind of cap or  
 l. 7. c. 4. hat ; which signified, that the seller would not  
 warrant for them. They carried a scrole hang-  
 ing at their necks, on which their good and bad  
 qualities, health and infirmities, virtues and  
 faults, were specified. There was also another  
 sort : these were those, who being free, either  
 sold themselves voluntarily, or became slaves to  
 their creditors. For the Roman laws allowed  
 the creditor to cause his debtor, who had not  
 wherewithal to pay him, to be adjudged to him  
 Liv. l. 8. as a slave, till the 424th year of Rome, when  
 a regulation was made, by which only the  
 goods of a debtor, if a Roman citizen, and  
 not his person, were for the future to be at the  
 disposal of the creditor, of whatsoever nature  
 the

the debt might be. This law was made upon account of Publius the usurer's bad treatment of young Papirius, who had made himself a slave to discharge a debt of his father's. As to those who sold themselves voluntarily, it was the effect of excessive indigence, which often proceeded only from debauchery and profusion. The Emperor Adrian seems to have intended to remedy that disorder, by decreeing corporal punishment against such as squandered away their fortunes: for he caused them to be publickly whipt in the midst of the amphitheatre, and afterwards they were suffered to go where they pleased. It is not known whether this wise institution took place after that Emperor's death. As to those who had been ruined by some accident, if they were reduced to ask \* charity, they carried a little table hanging at their necks, representing the casualty which had reduced them to that miserable condition; as a shipwreck, a fire, &c. in order to shew that bad conduct had not brought them to misery. The masters had power of life and death over all their slaves, and caused them to be chastised when he thought fit. There were however regulations for moderating that severity, and

V.

Punishment of prodigals.

Spart. l. i.

Liv. l. 2.

Dio. Cass.

l. 54.

\* Sed cujus votis modo non suffecerat aurum,  
Quod Tagus & rutila volvit Pactolus arena,  
Frigida sufficient velantes inguina panni,  
Exiguusque cibus, merfa rate naufragus assem  
Dum rogat, & picta se tempestate tuetur.

Juv. Sat. XIV.

Thus he  
Whose sacred hunger, all the stores that lie  
In yellow Tagus could not satisfy;  
Does now in tatter'd cloaths, at some lane's end,  
A painted storm for charity extend.

J. Dryden jun.  
checking

checking the violence and cruelty of the masters, of which some, through excess of avarice, would not even cause their slaves to be taken care of when they fell sick, but sent them to an island in the Tiber, called the island of Æsculapius, because there was a temple in it dedicated to that divinity: it is now called the island of St. Bartholomew. There they were left without any assistance under the auspices of the God of Medicine. It was to remedy these disorders, that the Emperor Claudius passed a decree, that every sick slave, abandoned by his master, should be declared free, when he recovered his health. And under the Emperor

Dio. Cass.  
l. 60.

Spart. in  
vit. Adri-  
an.

Adrian it was ordained, that every master who should kill his slave without sufficient cause, should suffer death. If he treated them too cruelly, they could compel him to sell them at a reasonable price. The same Prince decreed also, that their capital crimes should be brought before the ordinary tribunals; and, because the laws permitted, that all the slaves of a man killed in his own house might be put to the question, he limited this custom to such of them only as were witnesses to the murder, and might have prevented it.

As the slave-merchants sold them at a much higher price, according to the talents they possessed, they were very industrious to find such as had geniusses for arts and sciences, in order to have them instructed. Masters did the same in respect to the slaves whom they had in their houses: so that some of them proved not only very happy in the arts, but also very knowing in the sciences. The latter were destined to the education of the children of the family, and the other exercised trades for the benefit of their

masters. However, after having finished the work prescribed them, some time was allowed them to be applied to their own advantage; which formed their stock, with the four bushels of corn *per* month for their subsistence, besides what they might gain over and above by their industry and œconomy. The master had no right over this stock; but all the rest was his property. With this permission of amassing some little matters, they had no right however to make wills. The names they were called by were taken from the different services in which they were employed: the grossest did the most laborious and meanest works; the rest were solely employed in country-business, where they cultivated their master's lands under managers, who were also slaves. This was the most usual practice amongst the Romans, after they left off cultivating their lands themselves; or if they farmed them out, it was still to one of the most knowing of their slaves, who engaged to pay his master a certain sum on that account; and if by his labour and industry he raised more from it, the overplus was for his own benefit. The freedmen also sometimes farmed their masters lands. The rest of the slaves were employed in the service of their master's person, and at his house in the city. Some of them were appointed to have an eye over the rest, and to chastise them, when they had done amiss. The usual punishment of slaves was the whip; and in order to it they were tied up by the feet, or under the arm-pits, when they were to continue long in that condition; and a great weight was made fast to their feet, to prevent them from kicking those who scourged them. Slaves were prohibited to hold assemblies or have feasts amongst

Plaut.

VI.

Chastisement of  
slaves.



amongst themselves, to prevent them from exciting revolts, of which there had been many, that could not be quelled immediately. To oblige them to be vigilant for the security of their masters, there was a law, which ordained, if any person was killed by one of his slaves, that not only those who were actually in their master's house, but such also as were made free by his will, if in the house at the time of his death, should be executed. This law continued in force in the Emperor's Nero's time, and took place on the occasion of Pedanius Secundus, who, as Tacitus informs us, was killed by one of his slaves. There were slaves at Rome, that belonged to the state. They were employed in works; *viz.* in building, making of highways, and extinguishing fires. If their great number were sometimes prejudicial to the Commonwealth through their revolt, it must however be owned, that it was a resource to her in great extremities; for we find, that after the loss of the battle of Cannæ, she formed troops of her slaves, promising them liberty, if they behaved like men of courage. It was also a means for augmenting the number of her citizens: for a master in making his slave free, made him a Roman citizen; and for that effect his name was immediately after inscribed upon the Prætor's register, with the causes of his enfranchisement. In this manner it was easy for the Commonwealth to retrieve the losses occasioned by wars.

VII. As slaves were made free from different motives, there were also different manners of giving them their liberty. It was usually by will, or in the life of their master, either out of gratitude for the good offices they had received from them,

*Of the enfranchisement of slaves.*

or interest, when the master agreed with his slave for the price of his liberty. It also happened in times of scarcity, that the masters, through a refinement of avarice, often gave their slaves liberty, in order to have a share in \* the distributions of corn, made monthly by the Commonwealth to each citizen, at a much lower price than it was worth. They did the same under the Emperors, in order to partake not only in the gratuitous distributions of corn, but largesses of money and other things. Augustus instituted regulations during his reign to prevent these abuses, in making manumissions and the freedom of Rome more difficult to obtain. As to the making free by Will, not interest, but vanity, was often the motive for it. For the Romans carried that beyond the bounds of life, especially after luxury became predominant. They held it for their honour that their funerals should be as magnificent as possible; and the great number of slaves made free by will, that attended their obsequies, contributed to augment the pomp of them.

Dion. Hal.  
l. 4. c. 6.

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.  
Dion Cass.  
l. 56.

Liv. l. 30.  
Dion. Hal.  
l. 4. c. 6.

Conditional manumissions were made sometimes: these were, when the master retained certain services during his life; so that the slaves did not enjoy entire liberty, till after his death. There was a particular case, wherein the master made his slaves free during his life for his own security: this was, when he was conscious of being guilty of some crime punishable by the

\* Libertate opus est, non hac ut quisque Velina  
Publius emeruit, scabiosum tesserula far  
Possidet.

Perf. Sat. V:

O Freedom, first delight of human kind,  
Not that which bondmen from their masters find,  
The privilege of doles!

Dryden.  
laws,

laws, and gave them their liberty for fear of being convicted by their being put to the rack; which could not be done, after they were become Roman citizens by being made free. But if a slave had undergone some severe punishments, as the whip, the prison, and been branded in the face for some bad action, which was not uncommon, he could not be immediately made free like others: it was necessary for him to stay a certain time, enjoying at first only what was called the lesser liberty.

VIII. When a slave was made free, his head was shaved, and his master after carried him before the Prætor. There was no necessity for that magistrate to be on his Tribunal for that purpose; neither did it signify, where they found him. In presenting the slave he said, *Hunc* *Manner of making slaves free.* *of hominem liberum esse volo; è manu emittere: I desire that this man may be free;* and the Prætor answered, *Dico eum liberum esse more Quiritum: I declare him free according to the custom of the Romans.* In pronouncing these words, he gave him a gentle stroke with his staff of office upon the head. Festus however tells us, that it was the master who pronounced these words, and that in saying them he touched the slave with his staff, and made him turn quite round, which was called in Latin *Vertigo*; and this has the authority of a passage in \* *Perfius*. The slaves of the Roman People had one advantage which others had not, and which was very considerable. This was, that on receiving their liberty they became at the same time Roman citizens as well as their masters. The hope of this ought not a little to have contributed to

\* ——— Quibus una Quiritem  
Vertigo facit.

*Perf. Sat. V.*

——— *With a Turn a freeman he became.*

render the misfortune of their condition the more supportable. They had not the same advantage at first. Servius Tullius, to augment the number of the citizens, granted this right to all the freed-men, and ordained that they should become Roman citizens, and enjoy all the privileges annexed to that condition at the same time. Dionysius Halicarnassensis, who relates this, observes, that abundance of abuses were introduced in these manumissions: that at first only the good services and qualities of the slaves had determined their masters to give them their liberty; but that in his time, under Augustus, they most commonly received it either as the reward of crimes and debauches, or in effect of the master's avarice; which only augmented the corruption of manners, in giving such bad citizens to the Commonwealth. As liberty always depended upon the master, and it was the supreme good of the slave; those who were become freed-men, were not only, in gratitude, obliged to retain abundance of respect for their masters, but they were still subject to certain indispensable duties. We have seen, that they were obliged to attend at their master's house twice a day, morning and evening, to accompany him either about the city, or in the Forum, in order to augment his train; and they were even obliged to assist him, if he was reduced to poverty. There were punishments instituted for them, if they failed in respect: they were either obliged to return into slavery, or were sent to work in the mines. The freed-men, to distinguish their condition, had their heads shaved, their ears bored, and wore a kind of little hat or cap. During a certain time, under the Commonwealth, they were

IX.  
*Duties of  
freed men  
to their  
masters.*



not permitted to make wills, though they might receive legacies left them by the wills of others: but in process of time they had that permission. They could not marry one born the daughter of a Roman citizen; and though, when they were first made free, they could enjoy the privileges annexed to the condition of a Roman citizen, they could not attain any but the small offices of the Commonwealth. They were indeed more favoured by certain Emperors, whose freed-men became all-powerful, Claudius, Nero, and Heliogabalus. The latter admitted them into all the great offices, even the Consulship. Their children had their ears bored as well as the fathers, to distinguish them from the citizens born of free parents. I have already observed that they were called *Libertini*. They were capable of being register'd in the Tribes, of serving in the Roman legions, and even of being admitted to the dignity of Knight.

Suet. in  
vit. Claud.  
Herodian.  
l. 5.

The privileges of such as had the quality of Roman citizens were in general, not to suffer corporal punishments, as imprisonment, the rack, whipping, or death, except by the judgment of the Roman People, to whom they had a right to appeal from any other judge, or to the Emperor, after the subversion of the Commonwealth. It was to them it belonged to vote for the election of magistrates, in the public deliberations, and in the judgments rendered by the People. This quality gave a father power of life and death over his children, and even to sell them for slaves, provided they were not married. Children possessed nothing as their own in the life-time of their fathers, who had a right to dispose of the whole fortune of the family.

Liv. l. 10.

Dion. Hal.  
l. 2. c. 8.

family. None but Roman citizens also could be adopted, or admitted to inherit the estate of another citizen by will, whose estate, according to the laws, could not revert to any one that was not a Roman citizen. In order to a will's being good, it was necessary that it should have been made in the presence of other citizens. It was not lawful for any citizen to marry a wife, whose father was not of the same condition; without which the marriage was deemed void, and the children born of it were declared bastards. It was necessary to be a Roman citizen, for being admitted into offices, and listed in the legions. In the time of the Commonwealth, it seldom happened that a Roman citizen was punished in any other manner than by fine, or banishment, which was the simple proscription. But Sylla, during his usurped Dictatorship, was the inventor of that called the proscription of the head, and the prohibition of fire and water, because it extended to life, and ordained, that the proscribed person should be killed, wherever he was found. Banishment, which till then had been the greatest punishment a citizen was made to suffer, became the least under the Emperors, who inflicted it for very slight causes. It was also under them, that the Roman citizens began to lose their privileges. They had no longer any share either in the public deliberations, or public judgments: the Emperors suppressed those rights, and assumed them to themselves. The Emperor Tiberius deprived the People of the right of electing the magistrates, in order to confer it upon the Senate; and the citizens were no longer exempt from the taxes, from which the Commonwealth had discharged them, when she had attained to the

Appian.

l. 1.

Plut. in

vit. Syll.

Dion Cass.

l. 57.

Plut. in

vit. Paul.

Æmil.

highest degree of power. That politic Prince even caused the citizens to be put to the rack. Though the Emperors invaded part of the privileges of the citizens, they did not do the same in respect to the distribution of corn, which custom the Commonwealth had began : for they not only took care to continue it, but also augmented it in such manner that it became prejudicial, in augmenting that enervate sloth, to which the Roman People afterwards abandoned themselves, and of which the Barbarians knew how to take the advantage to the ruin of the Empire. But for the better explaining so important an event, it is necessary to go back, and to trace the origin and progress of the largesses made to the Roman citizens.

CHAPTER XVIII.

- I. *Of the distributions of corn to the People.* II. *Freedom of Rome granted to physicians.* III. *Distribution of provisions.* IV. *Distribution of money to the People upon the accession of each Emperor.* V. *Annihilation of the privileges of the Roman citizens.* VI. *Liberality of Augustus to such as had children.*

**A**fter the Commonwealth had deprived Perseus of the kingdom of Macedonia, which she reduced into a province, and had seized on all its treasures, she found herself powerful enough to discharge her citizens from part of the taxes which they paid before. Gracchus, become Tribune of the People, affecting popularity, passed a law by which the Commonwealth was to supply the Roman citizens with corn at a very low price out of the public granaries. Claudius, another Tribune of the People, rose upon this liberality through policy, and prevailed, that it should be distributed amongst them *gratis*. Cato of Utica, to gain the common People, whom he saw excessively attached to the party of Cæsar, persuaded the Senate to do the same; at which time, to the number of three hundred thousand citizens shared in these distributions intended only for the poorest, of whom a list had been taken. Cæsar reduced the number of them to an hundred and fifty thousand; and being desirous after his triumph to distinguish himself by his liberality, he gave the value of a *mina* of silver, worth about an hundred drachmas, to every citizen. He also gave the freedom of the city to physicians, and to all who professed

I. *Of the distributions of corn to the People.*  
Appian. Alex. de Gracch. l. 1.  
Plut. in vit. Caton.  
Suet. in vit. Aug.  
Appian de bell. civ. l. 2. c. 33.  
II. *Freedom of the city granted*



*ven to phy-* the liberal arts in Rome. He ordained besides,  
*ficians.* that the Prætor should annually draw by lot the  
*Suet. in* names of some not included in the hundred and  
*vit. Cæf.* fifty thousand, to supply the places of the dead.  
*Ibid.* Augustus made this distribution of corn month-  
*Ibid.* ly; and sometimes distributed money. The  
farther we advance under the Emperors, the  
more we see these distributions augment; many  
of the Emperors having caused even habits to  
*Jun. Capit.* be given the people. Severus exceedingly aug-  
*in vit. Ma-* crin. mented the number of those who shared in  
*Vopisc, in* them, having left a prodigious quantity of corn  
*vit. Aurel.* for that purpose. Marcus Antoninus caused  
*Spartian.* even the little children and daughters of the  
*in vit.* new citizens to be included in that number.  
*Sever.*  
*Vopisc. in* Vopiscus relates, that Aurelian, after his triumph  
*vit. Aurel.* over Zenobia, ordained that a loaf of rye should  
be distributed every day to each person upon  
the list of distributions. The same author af-  
terwards observes, that he had ordained, that  
wine, oil, bread, and pork, should be distribu-  
ted to the Roman people; and that it was his  
will, that this distribution should be perpetual:  
but he does not say, whether this was executed  
after his death. He adds, that he had several  
times caused white tunics with sleeves to be di-  
stributed. Herodian, in the life of Heliogaba-  
lus, says, that it was the custom, on the accessi-  
on of every Emperor, to distribute money to  
the People. What continued, and even aug-  
mented, these liberalities, was, that the Empire  
often falling into the hands of ambitious per-  
sons, who had attained it only by artifice and  
violence, they endeavoured to cover them, and  
conciliate the affection of the People by these  
largesses. Spartianus tells us, that after the as-  
saffination of Macrinus, robes, *lacernæ*, of a  
rose

rose colour, were found, which that usurper had caused to be prepared, in order to be distributed amongst the People, when he arrived at Rome. Caracalla had before caused habits to be given them. The distribution of corn continued to be made at Rome, after the seat of the Empire was transferred to Constantinople. It was not the same in respect to the other privileges, annexed to the condition of Roman citizen, which were insensibly lost, and at last totally annihilated under Constantine. Persons of all nations, who for a considerable time had been received into the Roman legions, were then admitted into offices and dignities. Augustus, to retrieve the loss of the great number of Roman citizens who had fallen in the civil wars, when he mustered the People in the several quarters of the city separately, gave each of the inferior people, who shewed him legitimate children of both sexes, a thousand small sesterces, to facilitate the marrying of them.

V.

*Annihilation of the privileges*

*of the Roman citizens.*

VI.

*Liberality of Augustus to those who had children.*

## CHAPTER XIX.

- I. *Privileges of married persons.* II. *Penalties ordained against celibacy.* III. *Of marriage.* IV. *The day after the nuptials.* V. *Of divorces.* VI. *The wife retained her maiden-name after marriage.* VII. *Law against debauching maids.* VIII. *Of courtezans.*

I.  
*Privileges  
of married  
persons.*

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

II.  
*Penalties  
ordained  
against ce-  
libacy.*

Val. Max.  
l. 2. c. 9.  
Tacit. l. 3.

WITH the view of facilitating marriages, the Commonwealth had long before annexed marks of distinction to married persons, in order \* to discourage libertinism, and to multiply the number of the citizens. For it was ordained, that amongst the People, such as were married should have places in the theatre, separate from those of the soldiery; that the married magistrates, or fathers of families, should also have precedence to their colleagues who were not so, and that they should enjoy the same advantage in the case of competition for offices. Besides which, she had instituted penalties and fines against those who were for living in celibacy. As the Romans were much addicted to superstition, and they extended it to every thing they did, it is no wonder, that marriage was celebrated amongst them with so many

\* Diva, producas sobolem, patrumque  
Prosperes decreta super jugandis  
Fœminis, prolisque novæ feraci  
Lege marita.

Hor. Carm. sec.

Goddeſs of births—  
Give us a race mature and ſtrong,  
And all thoſe ſacred ſtatutes bleſs,  
That guard the nuptial bed from wrong,  
And crown the State with fair increaſe.

cere-

† ceremonies, observed the more scrupulously, as they believed its happiness depended on them.

The first thing they did was to take the auspices before the nuptials, in order to know the will of the Gods; and they carefully avoided celebrating them upon one of those days, which they held to be unfortunate. Plutarch tells us, that they did not marry maids upon public holidays; and that the widows were permitted to marry upon them, in order that they might be seen by fewer people; the generality being employed upon those days in solemnizing the festival. This shews, that second marriages were not in esteem amongst the Romans. The marriage was usually treated with the bride's father, from whom she was asked. When the contract was drawn up, it was sealed with the seals of the parents; and sometimes the portion was deposited in the hands of the Augur, who had taken the auspices. Wives, according to the law of Romulus, had the advantage of inheriting the fortune of their husbands, if they died intestate. When he left children, the wife divided it equally with them. There were also people, who made it their profession to negotiate marriages, and to whom some gratification was given. The Emperors ordained that this præmium should be in proportion to the value of the fortune. The age for contracts was not

III.

*Of marriages.*

Val. Max.

l. 2. c. 1.

Plut.

Quæst.

Rom. 25.

86, 105.

Dion. Hal.

l. 2. c. 8.

† *Conventum tamen & pactum & sponsalia, nostra  
Tempestate paras, jamque à tonfore magistro  
Pectus, & digito pignus fortasse dedisti.*

*Juv. Sat. VI. v. 25.*

*Yet thou, they say, for marriage dost provide;*

*Is this an age to buckle with a bride?*

*They say thy hair the curling art is taught,*

*The wedding-ring perhaps already bought.*

Dryden.



Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

fixed before Augustus ; but that Emperor ordained, that they should not be made, till both parties were marriageable. A maid however might be contracted at ten years of age, because she was deemed marriageable at twelve.

The bridegroom before the nuptials sent his intended bride an iron ring without any stones in it, which was the ceremony of contract.

Plin. l. 33.  
c. 1.

Plut. in  
Quæst.  
Rom. 87.

Upon the wedding day, in dressing the bride's head, it was the custom to part her hair with the point of a spear, and to divide it in six tresses, after the manner of the Vestals, to imply that she would live chastly with her husband. On her head they put a wreath of flowers of vervain, and other herbs, which she had gathered herself, and over that wreath a veil, which was sometimes adorned with precious stones. They made her put on a pair of shoes of the same colour of the veil, formed in the manner of stilts or buskins, which raising her higher than those commonly worn, made her stature appear to the greater advantage. There was anciently another ceremony used amongst the Latins, which was to put a yoke upon the necks of those who affianced themselves to each other, to signify that marriage is a real yoke ; and from thence it had

Dion. Hal.  
l. 2. c. 8.  
Plin. l. 8.  
c. 3.

its Latin name *conjugium*. The first Romans observed a ceremony in their marriages, which they called *Confarratio* : this was to make the new-married couple eat a cake made only of wheat, salt, and water, which the priest had offered to the Gods, in order to imply by that common and sacred food, the indissoluble union which was to subsist between them. This ceremony was observed afterwards only in the marriages of the Pontiffs and priesthood. The bride

was

was dressed in a long robe quite plain, either white or saffron-colour, as were usually the veils worn by brides. Her sash or girdle was made of Plin. l. 21. wool, and tied in a knot called *Herculean*, which c. 8. the husband unloosed when she was put to bed, invoking the Goddesses Juno, that his marriage might be as fruitful as that of Hercules. They feigned to take the bride out of the arms of her mother to give her to her husband. This was done by the light of Plin. l. 16. five torches of pine-tree or white-thorn; for the c. 18. nuptials were always celebrated in the evening. Plut. Those torches were carried by young children called *Pueri lauti*, because they were washed and perfumed before-hand. Their number of five was Ibid. mysterious, as well as the rest of the ceremony: it was in honour of five Divinities, of whom they said those who married stood in need: these were Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Diana, and the Goddess of Persuasion. The bride was led by two young children, of whom each held her by Festus. one hand, and a third carried before her the torch of Hymen, which it was the custom for the friends of both parties to take away, lest it should be made use of in some enchantment, that might shorten the life of one of them: for great virtues were ascribed to this torch. Whilst Terent. the bride was conducted in this manner to her Adelph. husband's house, every one sung *Hymen Hymenæe*, Catull. and invoked Thalassius, who was married Plut. to one of the Sabines forcibly carried off by the Quæst. first Romans. A distaff was carried behind the Rom. 31. bride with a spindle, and a trunk or basket, in Plin. l. 8. which was her toilet. She was sprinkled with the *Lustral* or holy water, in order that she might enter chaste into the house of her husband. As soon as she arrived at the door, which was adorned with garlands of flowers and green boughs,

boughs, fire and water were presented to her, to signify that she was to share in the whole fortune of her husband. At the same time it was the custom to ask her her name, to which she answered *Caia*, to imply that she would be as good an house-wife as *Caia Cæcilia*, the mother of *Tarquinius Priscus*. She afterwards put wool upon the door, and rubbed it with oil, or the fat of pork, or of a wolf. The attendants then carried her over the threshold of the door, taking particular care that she did not touch it, because that would have been of very bad augury, and immediately after, the keys of the house were delivered to her, to signify that the whole management of it was consigned to her. She was then made to sit down upon a sheep-skin with the wool on it, to put her in mind that she was to work. When the marriage-feast was over, and the husband was for going to bed, the nuptial-bed was prepared; and after the matrons, called *Pronubæ*, who accompanied the bride, had made an end of giving her instructions, they put her into the genial bed, so called, because it was prepared in honour of the husband's genius. When the bride was a widow that married again, great care was taken to remove out of the chamber, not only the bed, but all the other furniture, that had been used by the first husband; and even the door of the chamber was changed. The batchelors and maids, on leaving the married pair, desired them to live happily together; and before the doors were shut, and they were left alone, the husband threw \* nuts to the children to divert the

\* *Da nuces pueris, iners  
Concubine; fatis diu*

the attention of the curious by the noise they made in scrambling for them ; at which time free songs, called *Fescennine verses*, were sung, which were thought necessary against the charms that might prejudice the consummation of the marriage. Care was taken, that there should be no light in the nuptial chamber for the first night, either to spare the bride's modesty, or to prevent the husband from perceiving her defects at first. The Romans made an infinity of the Gods intervene at this time, and ascribed abundance of little trivial employments to them, for which it was necessary to address each of them separately. The day after the nuptials, the husband made a feast at home, at which the bride, who lay by her husband on the bed at table, leant upon him with a familiar air. She then renounced all shame, and talked with so little reserve, that to describe discourses of excessive freedom, it was common to say, *she talked like a bride*. Presents were made them that day, and the married pair sacrificed to the Gods. The husband, according to custom, was obliged in returning from the country to give his wife notice, before he entered his house : but if he happened to surprize her in adultery, it was lawful for him to put her to death. The case was not

Plut.

Quæst.

Rom. 65.

St. August.

de civit.

Dei, l. 6.

c. 9.

IV.

The day af-

ter the nup-

tials.

Festus.

Plut.

Quæst.

Rom. 9.

Lusisti nucibus. Lubet

Jam servire Thalassio.

Concubine, nuces da. Catull. Ep. LIX. v. 131.

*Haste, slow lover, come away ;  
Throw the boys the nuts to play :  
Quit, for shame, thy childish pleasures,  
For thy bride and nuptial treasures :  
Haste, it is thy wedding-day ;  
Throw the nuts, and come away.*

the



the same in respect to the wives: for if they surprized their husbands with other women, they dared not object to it. If a husband, who had found his wife tardy, did not put her away, he might be cited before the judges, as having prostituted her himself.

V.  
*Of divorces.*

Adultery was one of the three causes for which divorces were allowed amongst the Romans: but they were prohibited by the laws to have more wives than one at once. When the divorce took place on that account, the husband kept his wife's portion: the two other cases were barrenness, and ill-humour. The divorce was made in writing, in this form: *Take away what belongs to you, Res tuas tibi habeto*: the keys which had been given her upon the day of marriage were then taken from her. The first who

Val. Max.  
l. 2. c. 1.

was divorced from his wife was Sp. Carvilius; it was upon the account of barrenness, in the 520th year of Rome. More than five ages, which elapsed without any one's making use of that permission, evidence the regularity of the manners of the first Romans. It was not the same afterwards: it was often employed, and principally from the time of Sylla, and under the Emperors. The married women always retained their maiden-names, and did not take those of their husbands. If it happened, that a Roman citizen had corrupted a free maid, the laws obliged him either to marry her without a portion, or to give her one suitable to her condition: but their facility in disposing at will of their slaves, and the great number of courtezans, rendered this case the less frequent. As to courtezans, a free-born woman, or one whose father, or husband, had been a Roman Knight, was

VI.  
*Maiden name retained after marriage.*

VII.  
*Law against debauching maids.*

VIII.  
*Of courtezans.*

not

not permitted to exercise the profession of a courtesan : only the freed-woman had that liberty. But the corruption of manners, which increased perpetually, prevented these ordinances from being punctually observed. Tacitus informs us, Tacit. l. 2. that the women who desired to exercise this profession publicly, were obliged to declare it before the magistrate. He adds, that their ancestors had believed them sufficiently punished by the shame of such a confession. They caused themselves to be entered upon the registers of the *Ædiles*, and at the same time changed their names. When they quitted this kind of life to lead one more regular, they resumed their own names. Tertullian says, that which they bore during their debauched course, was wrote upon their chamber-door, with the price of their favours. We find in Juvenal, that Messalina took the name of Lycisca : this was undoubtedly that which she gave herself in the places of debauch. Domitian deprived courtesans of the use of litters, and of the right to receive legacies and to inherit estates. Suet. in vit. Dom. The Emperor Tacitus prohibited the keeping of stews in Rome ; but that decree did not long subsist. Though the Roman government was exceedingly intent upon preserving good manners, corruption however prevailed in contempt of wise regulations. In proportion as the manners of the people grew corrupt, the government suffered considerable changes, notwithstanding the perpetual attention of the Romans to prevent every thing that might tend to its prejudice, especially during the Commonwealth.

## BOOK THE SECOND.

*Of the different kinds of government, and magistrates, of the Romans.*

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## CHAPTER I.

- I. *Of the government of the Kings.* II. *Government of the Kings mixed.* III. *Interregnum.* „IV. *Expulsion of the Kings.*

I.  
*Of the  
government of  
the Kings.*

R O M E was at first governed by Kings, who were elected by the People with the approbation of the Senate, which however did not suffice alone ; for it was necessary that the augury taken from the flight of birds should be favourable, without which the election could not take place. The Senate served in some measure as a limitation of the power of the Kings, who did nothing considerable without taking their advice. After the King had given his opinion upon an affair, the majority of voices decided it, and what had been decided, the King afterwards proposed to the people, and caused it to be confirmed by their suffrages. His power extended to religion, the revenues, and the army, leaving the care of other affairs  
to

to the Senators during the war. In time of peace he adjudged the causes of particulars in person ; and his judgments had the force of laws, though there were besides two of the principal citizens, who administered justice in the room of magistrates, called *Duumviri* ; but that was only in criminal affairs. The marks of the sovereignty were the crown of gold, the purple robe, the ivory chair, and the scepter, upon the top of which was an eagle. The King <sup>Plut.</sup> was attended by twelve Lictors, or Serjeants, <sup>Quæst.</sup> each carrying a bundle of rods bound together <sup>Rom. 67.</sup> with a leathern thong, in the midst of which was an ax, with the blade appearing above them. These Lictors served him in the double capacity of guards and officers to execute justice and his commands ; whether it were to cut off an head, or whip a criminal ; which were the usual punishments amongst the Romans. On such occasions they unbound their rods, and made use of the thongs for binding the criminals, of the rods for whipping them, or the ax for cutting off the head.

Though Romulus had taken the name of <sup>II.</sup> King, which descended to his successors, the <sup>Govern-</sup> government however which he had formed, in <sup>ment of</sup> conjunction with people drawn together from all <sup>Rome mixt</sup> sides, was not purely monarchical ; because it was necessary that the Senate, whom he had composed out of the principal of them, should regulate the public affairs jointly with him ; and the People were also assembled in order to give their consent, when the question was to make peace or war. These new subjects, most of them accustomed to live by rapine, and who had only put themselves under a chief for the

K fake



fake of continuing it with impunity, could not have been reconciled to a constitution purely monarchical. Romulus was assassinated, only because the Senators suspected, that he intended to establish such a government.

## III.

*Interreg-*  
*num.*

Dion.Hal.

I. 2. c. 15.

Plut. in

vit Num.

When the election of a King did not immediately take place, and there was an *Interregnum* for some time, the government vested in the hands of the Senators, who ruled each in his turn, dividing themselves for that purpose by tens, of which numbers each had the command for fifty days. Every one of these ten had the sole authority for five days ; during which he had all the ensigns of the royal dignity, and was called *Interrex*. It was he who assembled the people for the election of a King. That authority passed successively to all the rest of the Senators, who governed as long as the *interregnum* subsisted ; which custom was also observed during the Commonwealth, when the magistrates were either absent or dead, and the state was fallen into a kind of anarchy. If they did not think fit to create a Dictator, an *Interrex*, or Governor, was chosen out of the Senate, who after having ruled some days, assembled the people for the election of Consuls or Military Tribunes. During the time of that office, and of the Dictatorship, all the other magistrates, except the Tribunes of the people, abdicated their authority.

The monarchical government subsisted two hundred forty-four years under seven Kings, of which Tarquin surnamed the Proud was the last, in effect of endeavouring to set himself above the rules which his predecessors had observed, and to reign as a tyrant. The Romans did

did not wait his death for changing the form of the government. The violence and cruelty of Tarquin inspired them with that implacable hatred for the name of King, which they retained ever after. This was the real cause of the expulsion of that Prince; the violence used by Sextus in regard to Lucretia being only the pretext for it.

IV.

*Expulsion  
of the  
Kings.*

## CHAPTER II.

I. *Of the Consuls.* II. *Time of their election.*  
 III. *Consuls elect.* IV. *Of the Lictors.* V.  
*Respect paid the Consuls.* VI. *Provinces al-*  
*lotted the Consuls.* VII. *Deference of the Ro-*  
*mans for age.* VIII. *Alliance of the Plebeians*  
*with the Patricians.*

I.  
*Of the*  
*Consuls.*

**I**M M E D I A T E L Y after the expulsion of the Tarquins, the Commonwealth commenced. It was governed by two annual magistrates, called Consuls, who were chosen by the People assembled in the field of Mars.

II.  
*Time of*  
*their elec-*  
*tion.*

The time of the election of these magistrates, as well as that when they entered upon office, differed. In the beginning the election was made in the month of January, and they entered upon office on the ides of March, in remembrance that Romulus had made the year begin with that month, and in order to leave the Consuls elect a sufficient interval, between their election and installation, for informing themselves in the affairs of the Commonwealth; which custom was always observed in all the changes that happened in the state, except in some particular cases. For when in effect of a new regulation, they entered upon the exercise of their office on the first of January, which was the first of the year by the reformation made in the calendar of Romulus, they were elected in the month of August, in order that they might always have time to take cognizance of the public affairs. These two different times for the election of these magistrates, were not the only variations

variations in that respect ; there were others also, generally occasioned by the divisions that happened between the Nobility and People, that either retarded the election of these magistrates, or caused it to be anticipated. During the interval between their election, and entrance upon office, they were called *Consules designati*, *Consuls elect.* III. and in that quality were received in the Senate, where they were treated with abundance of deference. Immediately after the People had elected the new Consuls in the field of Mars, the Consul in office, who had summoned the assembly, and presided in it, declared with a loud voice the persons elected. If one of them happened to die during the year of their Consulship, another was elected for the remainder of it, but without power to call the assembly for electing those who were to succeed. Immediately after their election, they went to the Capitol, attended by the Senate and People, to offer sacrifices to Jupiter Capitolinus, and to make vows for the prosperity of the Commonwealth. They afterwards swore to observe the laws, and to maintain the privileges of the Roman people ; and to act in all things for the good of the Commonwealth. Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 92.

They retained all the ensigns of the sovereignty at first, with twenty-four Lictors ; but they were reduced to twelve soon after the creation of that magistracy. They wore the robe bordered with purple, called *Prætecta* ; sat in the assemblies in an ivory chair, with a staff of ivory in their hand, and were carried about the city in a litter. The doors of their houses were adorned with laurels ; and when they were present at any feast, the most honourable place was always given them, and they were reconducted

IV.  
Of the  
Lictors.



V.  
*Respect  
paid the  
Consuls.*

Aur. Vit.  
de Vir.  
illust.

Val. Max.  
l. 2. c. 2.

VI.  
*Provinces  
allotted the  
Consuls.*

to their houses ; which was never done for any other person in their presence. As a greater mark of distinction, the people not only rose up, when they passed by, but also all the other magistrates were obliged to do so under penalties ; as happened to the Prætor Decius, who not rising up when the Consul Scaurus passed, the latter avenged that contempt of his dignity upon the spot, in causing that Prætor to be made to rise up by force, and ordering the pleadings before him to be discontinued. This example sufficiently shews how great respect was paid to these magistrates. If they were met by persons on horseback, the latter were obliged to alight immediately. All the other magistrates were subordinate to them, except the Dictator, and the Tribunes of the People. After their election, they drew lots for the command of the armies ; for that command was a principal part of their function. When the dominions of the Commonwealth were extended, the government of provinces were assigned them. Sempronius Gracchus in the 63<sup>rd</sup> year of Rome passed a law on that head, which continued in force, as long as the Commonwealth subsisted. It was, that the Senate, before the assemblies for the election of Consuls and Prætor, should allot two provinces, in which the two Consuls that should be elected were to command. The Consuls elected drew lots for these provinces which on that account were called *Consular*. The same thing was practised in respect to the Prætors, and the provinces assigned them, were called *Prætorian*. When the Commonwealth had extended their conquests, the two Consuls not being sufficient to command the different armies  
the

she had in the field, Proconsuls were nominated to supply their places.

The Consuls governed in their turns; the eldest, or he who had most children, entered upon office the first month, and the other the month following: for it must be said, to the praise of the Romans, that all conditions of them were attentive to express respect and deference for the persons of the greatest age. The Consul actually in office, had all the ensigns of honour: he was preceded by twelve Lictors, whilst the other had but one. It was he also who dismissed the Senate, when assembled, in these words, *Vos non longius moramur, Patres Conscripti: We detain you no longer, Conscript Fathers.* They regulated whatever related to public affairs, before they took the field. They also gave audience to the ambassadors in the Senate, where they proposed all affairs that were to be deliberated upon; and they were charged with the execution of whatever was resolved. They had a right to assemble the Senate; but the consent of both Consuls was necessary to that, except one of the two were absent; in which case the order of him at Rome sufficed. They could also assemble the people to propose to them what they pleased. Both the one and the other in consequence deliberated according to the plurality of voices: but as to the Consuls, they could not conclude any thing without the advice of the Senate, and the consent of the People. As they commanded the armies, they made all the preparations of war; levied the soldiers; appointed the officers; and had an absolute authority over the auxiliary troops. They could punish the officers or soldiers who served under them, and dispose of the military chest as they thought fit, having a treasurer under them for that purpose, called *Quæstor.*

Tac. l. 2.

VII.  
Deference  
for age.

Val. Max.  
l. 2. c. 1.

Appian de  
Bell. Civ.

Varro, l. 2.  
& 5.  
Cic. l. 3.  
de leg.

There was a body of troops in the army named the *Prætorian* cohort ; which served as the general's guard. It was so called, because antiently, before the institution of the office of Prætor, that name was given to the Consuls also, and signified the superiority of their charge, the word being derived from the verb *præesse*, to preside. It is from the same word, the name of *Prætorium* was given to the general's tent.

To conclude, these annual magistrates having succeeded the Kings, exercised most of their functions ; and in the beginning, as there was no Prætors, they also administered justice, and adjudged the differences of the citizens. Soon after their institution, restrictions were laid upon their authority, by making it lawful to appeal from their decrees to the People, as supreme judges : but nothing diminished their authority more than the Tribunes of the people, over whom the Consuls had no authority. The dignity of Consuls were conferred at first only upon Patricians : but in the 387th year of Rome, a Plebeian Consul was elected for the first time. The People afterwards obtained permission to enjoy all the offices of the Commonwealth, as well as the Nobility. The latter believed themselves so much above them, that they made a law against allying by marriage with the Plebeian families, but in the 306th year of Rome, they were obliged by the vigorous conduct of the Tribunes, to consent to those alliances.

VIII.  
*Alliance  
of the Ple-  
beians  
with the  
Patricians.*

CHAPTER III.

I. *Plebeian Consul.* II. *In what manner the Plebeians attained the Consulship.* III. *Abolition of the Consulship.*

**T**HIS partition of the Consulship between the Nobility and People, happened at a time when there was not the least room to expect it: for the Patricians had assumed the upper hand in such a manner, that the Plebeians were upon the point of sinking under their violence and cruelty. What occasioned this change is too singular, not to deserve a place here. A trivial raillery, joined with the jealousy of rank between two sisters, was of sufficient force to produce what the most lively ambition of the Plebeians had attempted in vain. Livy relates this important fact as follows. Fabius Ambustus the Patrician had two daughters, the one married to Licinius Stolo the Plebeian, and the other to Ser. Sulpicius of a Patrician family. The former happening to be one day with her sister, at the time when the latter's husband, who was Military Tribune, returned from the *Forum*; the Lictors, that walked before him, according to custom struck the door with the end of the *fascēs*, to signify the return of that magistrate. That extraordinary noise, and the sight of the Lictors, terrified the wife of Licinius, who did not know the cause of them; and she expressed her surprize to her sister, who answered her only with a smile of disdain, which intimated in a more lively manner than any thing she could have said, the difference there was between the wife of a Patrician,

I.  
the Nobility and People, happened at a  
time when there was not the least room to expect it: for the Patricians had assumed the upper hand in such a manner, that the Plebeians were upon the point of sinking under their violence and cruelty. What occasioned this change is too singular, not to deserve a place here. A trivial raillery, joined with the jealousy of rank between two sisters, was of sufficient force to produce what the most lively ambition of the Plebeians had attempted in vain. Livy relates this important fact as follows. Fabius Ambustus the Patrician had two daughters, the one married to Licinius Stolo the Plebeian, and the other to Ser. Sulpicius of a Patrician family. The former happening to be one day with her sister, at the time when the latter's husband, who was Military Tribune, returned from the *Forum*; the Lictors, that walked before him, according to custom struck the door with the end of the *fascēs*, to signify the return of that magistrate. That extraordinary noise, and the sight of the Lictors, terrified the wife of Licinius, who did not know the cause of them; and she expressed her surprize to her sister, who answered her only with a smile of disdain, which intimated in a more lively manner than any thing she could have said, the difference there was between the wife of a Patrician,

II.  
In what manner the Plebeians obtained the Consulship.  
Liv. l. 6.



trician, and that of a Plebeian. At the same time the numerous train which reconducted Sulpicius, and the honours she saw paid to him, effectually excited an agitation within her, which was the more acute, as her husband being a Plebeian, she could not hope to see the like honours at her own house. Her sister's contempt, and the superiority of rank, to which the sex is naturally so sensible, made her fall into a melancholy, which the husband and father of that lady soon perceived, to whom she was equally dear. The latter at length, after much sollicitation to extort a secret from her, which she only kept to make him the more desirous to discover it, learnt from her the subject of her chagrin. He consoled her, and promised that she should not be long in pain on that account. In consequence, by his intrigues and credit, he caused his son Stolo to be created Tribune of the People. Stolo then, urged by his wife, and seconded by his father-in-law, after long struggles, notwithstanding the opposition of the Patricians, passed the law, which ordained, that the Consuls for the future should be elected out of the Plebeians as well as Patricians; and Stolo himself was elected Consul. To attain this dignity it was necessary to be at least forty-two or forty-three years of age, and to have passed through the offices of Quæstor, Ædile, or Prætor. A person could not be elected Consul for the second time, till after a space of ten years: but these rules were not always observed. The authority of the Consuls was never more extensive, than when the Commonwealth was in some urgent danger and a Dictator was not created. The Senate then made a decree, which gave them unlimited power, and of which

which the form was in these terms : *Dent operam Consules, ne quid detrimenti capiat Respublica* : Let the Consuls take care, that the Commonwealth suffers no prejudice. These magistrates were however not dispensed from rendering an account of their conduct, if they were accused before the People. Only themselves had a right, on quitting their office, to call an assembly for the election of their successors : but if by accident they both happened to die, an *Interrex* was created to preside in the assembly. On the expiration of their Consulship, the government of a province was given them in quality of Proconsuls. The precaution taken to change the Consuls every year, was no less salutary to the Commonwealth in time of peace, than prejudicial to it in time of war. For different Generals not having the same ability and valour, the Commonwealth experienced sad inconveniences from thence sometimes. However, as it often happened, that he, who had commanded in chief one year, would serve the next without repugnance in quality of Lieutenant-General, (for with them the love of their country was superior to a frivolous notion of honour) the latter's capacity might in some measure supply what was wanting in the General : but as this was not always the case, it was not a certain method for obviating this inconvenience. This dignity began to decline in authority, and continued always in the same state from the first Triumvirate of Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus ; and the Emperors laid it under new and still greater restrictions. They nominated whom they pleased to that office, and often filled it themselves. It subsisted indeed a great while under them ; but almost as a mere titular honour without power ; the Emperors having left it only the right of calling

Liv. l. 4.  
Appian.  
de Bell.  
Civil. l. 1.

Appian.  
de Bell.  
Civil. l. 2.

Tacit. l. 3.  
Appian.  
de Bell.

Civ. l. 1.

Herodian  
l. 2. calling and dismissing the Senate, and of rendering justice to particulars. However, when an *Interregnum* happened, or the Empire was in dispute between two competitors, they had the administration of affairs.

When a Prince was for rendering a person illustrious, he granted him the privilege of wearing the Consular robe, though he had not been Consul. He also granted the honours, that is to say the Triumphal robe, and the privileges annexed to a Triumph, to those whom he thought fit to favour with peculiar marks of his benevolence, though they had never triumphed, nor even done any remarkable exploit: these were court-honours, which the Emperors bestowed on those who had the good fortune to please them. Tiberius was the first who caused the oath of fidelity to be taken by the Consuls; which was observed ever after. This office was at last abolished by the Emperor Justinian in the year of Christ 541.

III.  
*Abolition  
of the Con-  
sulship.*

CHAPTER IV.

- I. *Of the Decemviri.* II. *Of the military Tribunes.* III. *Of the Dictator.* IV. *Causes of the seditions of the People.* V. *Of the Tribunes of the People.* VI. *Power of the Tribunes of the People.* VII. *Decree used by the Senate against the Tribunes of the People.* VIII. *Respect for the Tribunes of the People.* IX. *Cooptation.* X. *Dissension between the Nobility and People, advantageous to the Commonwealth.*

AS long as the Commonwealth subsisted, the government by Consuls was the most fixed, having suffered only some interruptions at different times ; of which the first was in the 304th year of Rome, after the return of the deputies sent into Greece to collect laws. The Consuls were then suppressed, and ten magistrates created, who, on account of their number, were called *Decemviri*. They were nominated for compiling those laws, and to form a Body out of them agreeable to the character of the People, and the constitution of the Commonwealth ; for the Romans had very few before. These ten magistrates prepared the laws of the XII. Tables, which during a great length of time composed the whole Law of the Romans : for at the beginning, except some regulations made by Romulus, there was no other law, in a manner, but the will of the Prince. Numa indeed made several, to which he subjected even the Prince : but from the time of the Kings to that of the twelve Tables, those made by the People tended only to defend them against the oppressions

I.  
*Of the Decemviri.*

Tac. 1. 3.



II.  
*Military  
Tribunes.*

III.  
*Of the  
Dictator.*

Liv. l. 4.

pressions of the Nobility. These Decemviri had an authority like that of the Kings or Consuls; and as long as they subsisted there was no other, except that of the Tribunes of the People. But having abused their power, they were suppressed at the end of three years; and the person appointed *Interrex*, or Governor, created two Consuls. Five years after those magistrates were suppressed, and others with the like authority instituted in their stead, called *Military Tribunes*. At first they were only three in number: they were afterwards augmented to six, and even more, according to the will of the People and the occasions of the Commonwealth, part of whom might be elected out of the order of the Plebeians. These magistrates subsisted about seventy years; after which Consuls were re-established, who governed as before, to the end of the Commonwealth: for the time, whilst there was a Dictator, ought not to be considered as a change in the government; because the Dictators were extraordinary magistrates, only created in great emergencies, and who could not continue in office longer than six months; and even without waiting the expiration of that term, they voluntarily deposed themselves, as soon as they had put an end to the troubles which had occasioned their nomination. They were nominated by the Consuls, though their power extended over them, and was absolute: for immediately after their creation all the other magistrates abdicated their authority, except the Tribunes of the People. The Dictator appointed the Master or General of the Horse, who put his commands in execution, and served under him as his lieutenant. This chief magistrate had, as the mark of his

supreme authority, twenty-four Liçtors, who carried the *fascēs* with axes before him, in which they differed from those born before the Consuls, which had no axes, from the time of Valerius Publicola, who, to appear more popular, had passed a law, that prohibited the Consuls to add them to their *fascēs*, unless they were out of Rome. However, to shew that this dignity was not entirely independent, there was a law, that the Dictator should not appear on horse-Plut. in vit. Fab. Max. back in the army, till he had obtained permission from the Senate and People. The first Dictator was Titus Lartius Flavius, who was created to appease a sedition of the People in the 257th year of Rome; and Julius Cæsar was the last, who under the name of *Imperator, Emperor*, revived the monarchical government: it was in his time that the office of Master of the Horse was suppressed.

All these changes, which happened in the government, proceeded solely from the extreme desire of the Senate to lord it to the prejudice of the People; which gave birth to abundance of tumults. And indeed all the seditions that arose in the time of the Commonwealth, are to be referred only to two causes in general; first, the haughty and cruel manner with which the Patricians treated the People, and especially in respect to excessive usury; and as at first there were no Tribunes to defend them from those violences, the People were under the necessity of having recourse to violent measures. The second cause, which continued to the end of the Commonwealth, was a jealousy of authority, which made them always apprehend, that the Patricians, in augmenting their power, would reduce them into entire subjection, and deprive them

IV.

*Causes of the seditions of the People.*

them of what they called their liberty, which was no more than the power to balance the authority of the Senate. In consequence, as soon as the People perceived any thing on foot, that might tend to the augmentation of the power of the Patricians, they presently took the alarm, and even refused to obey the magistrates. From thence arose those tumults and commotions, to which the Senate had no other means to put a stop, than by employing the People, as they did, in almost continual wars with their neighbours. For in those times the love of glory, and their country, reunited them for a time, and made domestic dissensions cease. But as the cause of them always subsisted, they revived from time to time, as occasion arose: however, they became less frequent, after the People were admitted into all the great offices of the Commonwealth, as well as the Nobility. It is observed, that till the 621st year of Rome, when Tiberius Gracchus, a man of a violent busy disposition, was Tribune of the People, all the differences, which arose between the Nobility and People, were terminated amicably, and without shedding of blood.

Vell. Pat.

l. 2. c. 3.

V.  
*Of the Tribunes of the People.*

Plut. Qu.

Rom. 81.

This Tribune animated the two Orders in such a degree against each other, that they came to blows, in which himself perished. The advantage the People derived from the first seditions, was permission to create themselves two annual magistrates, called from thence *Tribunes of the People*, because their principal functions were to preserve their privileges, and to defend them against the oppressions of the Patricians. For this reason their house was open to every body at all hours, and they were not allowed to absent themselves from Rome more than a day,

nor to lie out of the city, except it were at the festival called *Feriæ Latinæ*, when all the magistrates went to offer a common sacrifice to Jupiter for the Latine nation upon the Alban mountain. The Jurisdiction of the Tribunes did not extend beyond the city. The two first were created about the 260th year of Rome; but soon after three more were associated with them, which made the number five: thirty-seven years after it was augmented to ten. The Senate was the more willing to acquiesce in multiplying their number, because they rightly perceived, that the greater it was, the easier it would be to disunite them, and to bring over some one of them always to their party; and by that means that they should be the better able to elude the opposition, which they foresaw would rise up against most of their decrees: for in the deliberations of the Tribunes, the opposition of only one of them, without giving his reasons for it, sufficed to render them null. The Senate soon perceived the error they had committed, in having given occasion for these Plebeian magistrates by their haughty and rigorous treatment of the People: for their authority was such, that they had power to assemble the People; to propose what they pleased to them; to put a stop to the deliberations of the Senate; and to prevent the passing of its decrees by only pronouncing the word *Veto*, *I forbid it*; and when they confirmed them, they only set the letter T at bottom, which signified *Tribuni*. Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us, that the Senate on an occasion, wherein the Tribunes of the People opposed a decree for levying an army to aid the Tusculans in the 300th year of Rome, acted as follows. See-

Dion. Hal.

l. 6.

VI.

Power of  
the Tri-  
bunes of the  
People.

Val. Max.

l. 2. c. 2.

L

ing



- VII. ing that the people refused to list, and not being able to compel them through the opposition of the Tribunes, they passed a second decree, by which they ordained that all those, who refused to obey the first, should be considered as impious, as the object of the wrath of the Gods, and as such excluded from civil Society. This was an extraordinary measure, to which they had recourse, when they could use no other ; but it was of no great effect, the people having more regard to their Tribunes, who were their protectors, than to imaginary penalties. And lastly, they had a kind of general inspection over all the magistrates, except the Dictators, of whom however they fined some on quitting their offices. They could oblige all the other magistrates, and even their own Collegues, to appear before the People, during the term of their office. They even carried their authority so far sometimes as to imprison the Consuls : however, notwithstanding so great a power, they did not enter the Senate during its deliberations ; and were only admitted into it, when the Consuls sent for them, and some affair, which concerned the interest of the People, was in question. They waited without, sitting on benches in the porch of the place where the Senate assembled. They were treated with such respect, that it was prohibited under severe penalties to say the least insolent word to them ; and were regarded as sacred persons, who were not named without adding the epithet *Sacro-sancti* : they had however no exterior mark of dignity, being only preceded by a single officer, called *Viator*, who was a kind of serjeant. They were elected in the assemblies by *Curia*, or centuries, till the 282d year of Rome,
- VIII. *Respect paid to the Tribunes of the People.* when
- Plut. Quæst. Rom. 81.

when those magistrates obtained a law, that their election should be made for the future in the assemblies by Tribes ; and at the same time that all which concerned the People should be transacted for the future in the same assemblies ; because the auspices were not taken in them as in the two other kinds of *Comitia* or assemblies, and experience had shewn that the augurs, who took the auspices, being Patricians, knew how to render them always favourable to the designs of the Nobility. Amongst all the privileges annexed to the Tribuneship, there was one entirely peculiar to that dignity. When those magistrates were elected, if the assembly of the People did not fill up the usual number on the day of the election, those who were elected had Liv. l. 3. a right to nominate the Collegues that were wanting ; and they were deemed as legitimate Tribunes, as those who had been chosen in the assembly of the People. This was called the IX. right of *Co-optation*, but it subsisted only till the Co-optati- 305th year of Rome, when the number of the on. Tribunes not having been filled up on the day of election, those, who were elected by this right of *Co-optation*, nominated two Patricians of Consular dignity for their Collegues ; at which the People being offended, they soon after passed the law *Trebonia*, which ordained, that the Tribune, who presided at the election of the Tribunes of the People, should be obliged to continue the election, till the number of ten was fully completed by the suffrages of the People ; and this annihilated the right of *Co-optation*. This example of two Patricians nominated Tribunes of the People, is the only one of the kind, for which Livy, who relates it, does not add the reason : and if we find, towards

the end of the Commonwealth, that Clodius, who was of a Patrician family, caused himself to be elected Tribune of the People, supported by the party of Cæsar, in order to banish Cicero, whose declared enemy he was, it was not till after he had caused himself to be adopted by a Plebeian ; because that office, according to the law of its institution, could be given only to Plebeians. From the beginning of the Tribuneship, its power continually augmented by the application and industry of those invested with it, who extended it so much, that they appeared almost masters of the government. Sylla during his Dictatorship very much reduced the power of the Tribunes : he even passed a law in the 672d year of Rome, by which every citizen that had been Tribune of the People, was declared incapable of attaining any other magistracy. But after Sylla, that is to say, the 679th year of Rome, Cotta began to reinstate it ; and Pompey afterwards in the 683d year of Rome, restored it entirely to its former lustre, which subsisted till 730, when the Senate conferred the whole Tribunitian authority on Augustus. That Prince retained it, and it descended after him to all the Emperors successively. However that office, though deprived of its authority, continued to subsist till the reign of Constantine, when it was abolished : but even under Augustus, the Nobility began to be admitted into it indifferently with the Plebeians.

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

The Senate and Nobility, by endeavouring to engross the government of the Commonwealth to themselves, furnished the People with this means of having more share in it, than they presumed even to hope at first : for the Nobility in the beginning had so much the superiority

periority in the public deliberations, that affairs were decided by plurality of voices, before the People could give theirs. Besides this disadvantage, they were also excluded from the offices of Consul, Dictator, other principal magistracies, and the command of armies, which were given only to the Patricians: but by the intrigues and efforts of the Tribunes, they at length attained all those dignities as well as the Nobility. A spirit of dissension always prevailed indeed between the two orders: but notwithstanding the troubles it sometimes occasioned, an happy emulation subsisted between them, which rendered both more intent to promote the interests of the Commonwealth. It was the same spirit, which induced them to have a vigilant eye over each other: for when a magistrate quitted his office, if he had failed in any thing, the Plebeians caused him to be cited before the People, to give an account of his conduct, and to inflict upon him the punishment he deserved.

X.

*Dissension  
between  
the Nobility  
and the  
People ad-  
vantagious  
to the Com-  
monwealth*



## CHAPTER V.

- I. *Of what kind the Commonwealth was.* II. *Manners of Sallust's time described.* III. *Venality of suffrages.* IV. *Difference of the State and of the Senate under the Emperors.* V. *Haughtiness of the Roman citizens in the time of the Commonwealth.* VI. *Respect paid to the Roman people by foreign powers.* VII. *Statue of Tiber, to which satirical pieces and lampoons were affixed.*

I. *Form of the Commonwealth* **I**N this manner a jealousy, which would have been pernicious to every other Commonwealth, became advantageous to Rome ; which shews the excellency of its form, wherein it differed from others : for it was neither purely aristocratical, nor purely democratical. It was composed of both, to which the Romans, notwithstanding their aversion for the monarchical form, had annexed what they had found best in it, and was wanting to the two other kinds of Commonwealth. Thus their government was an assemblage of the three, and supplied out of all three together what was wanting to each in particular. But as the work of man can never be entirely perfect, their government, notwithstanding all their care and application, did not fail to be liable to inconveniencies, which only encreased with time, and insensibly drew on the ruin of the Commonwealth. Cicero says, that there were always three factions in the State ; that of the Great, who were for having the government purely aristocratical ; that of the Popular, who favoured the people ; and that of the

Polyb. 1.6.

the Politic, who kept a certain medium between those who flattered the People, and those who favoured the Nobility upon all occasions. But so long as the one did not entirely outweigh the others, and duly balanced them, they were so far from being hurtful, that they were advantageous to the Commonwealth. What the Romans had retained from the monarchical form, vested in the persons of the Consuls; the Senate by its functions represented the aristocratical government, as the People did the democratical by the power they had. For it was by the suffrages of the latter that the Consuls and Magistrates were elected: the People also decreed the rewards and punishments they deserved; and it was before them, that they rendered an account of their conduct when accused, the People having the sole power of condemning without appeal, and of either rejecting or approving the laws proposed to them. In a word, the power of the magistrates, and of the different orders of the Commonwealth, was so happily divided, that the one was capable of being a barrier against the other, whenever they were for acting independently, and doing any thing prejudicial to the Commonwealth; and therein consisted the wise disposition of this State, and that liberty, which was for five hundred years the idol of the Roman people, to which it was ready to sacrifice every thing; and which the ambition and opulence of its citizens subverted. Sallust makes this evident in referring to these two causes, as the sources of all the disorders of the Commonwealth. At first, says he, the insatiable desire of riches augmented, and then that of power; for opulence naturally generates the thirst for honours. That

Polyb. 1.6.

II.  
*Manners of  
Sallust's  
time de-  
scribed.*

author continues the description of the manners of his times in these terms. Avarice banished faith, probity, and good manners; to which succeeded pride, cruelty, contempt of the Gods, and venality of all things. The Romans employed the riches, that were the fruits of their avarice, in procuring themselves the dignities, of which the same riches had inspired them with the desire, and bought the suffrages

- III. of the People. Thus avarice produced venality, *Venality of* and venality injustice: for as soon as that pernicious abuse was tolerated, and suffrages were *suffrages.* sold, all the wise œconomy of this edifice of State was no longer of proof against storms. The Commonwealth seemed only to wait the rising up of a more audacious, and more enterprising citizen than the rest. Accordingly, Sylla was not long before he shewed how easily it might be subverted, in making himself Dictator by force and violence. Cæsar afterwards taking him for his model, completed the ruin of the tottering Commonwealth: but it is probable, that all ambitious and enterprising as he was, he would never have dared to carry things to that extremity, without Sylla's example, who had opened him the way, and demonstrated the possibility of the success. And in consequence Sylla may be considered as the man, who gave the mortal wound to the liberty of the Roman people. Sallust shews also, that the violences committed under the usurped Dictatorship of Sylla, carried depravity of manners to its greatest height. It was also at that period those different parties began, to which the lust of supreme power gave birth in the Commonwealth, and which at length occasioned its ruin. Such was the government of Rome, and the changes it under-
- IV. *Difference of the State and of the Senate under the Emperors.*

underwent till the time of the Emperors, with whom the monarchical State recommenced, which introduced many other alterations. The Senate, which had always been lofty and majestic during the Commonwealth, sunk into the most abject slavery under the Emperors, and carried its flattery to such an excess, as to bestow applauses upon all the follies of the Emperor Caligula, the most extravagant of all men. The Romans, so attentive of old to the public good, had no longer any thoughts but of their private fortunes; but what seems at first the hardest to reconcile, is the sudden change of that spirit of independence and exceeding haughtiness of disposition into so abject and implicit a subjection. For during the Commonwealth, the meanest Roman citizen believed himself above foreign potentates; nor was there ever any nation so proud and haughty. Every thing indeed conduced to render them so: their continual victories had inspired them with boldness to treat the greatest Kings with extreme cruelty; and to be assured of this, we need only read what Polybius says of Popilius Lænas, ambassador from the Senate and People of Rome to Antiochus Epiphanes, at that time the greatest Prince of the East, who was besieging Pelusium, a city which belonged to young Ptolomy King of Egypt. That Roman approaching Antiochus, who received him with a gracious salute, and held out his hand to him in token of amity, did not vouchsafe to return that civility, and presenting him the tablets, which contained the decree of the Senate, desired him to read it. Antiochus, after having done so, told him that he would consult his council upon it: but Popilius, who happened to have a little stick in his hand, drew

V.

*Haughtiness of the Roman citizens under the Commonwealth.*

*Vell. Pat. l. 1. c. 11. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 4.*



a circle upon the sand round the King, and bade him not go out of it, till he had given a precise answer. That Prince surprized at so bold and haughty an action, was mute for some time, and replied at last, I will do what the Roman people desire. Popilius, and those of his train, then took that Prince by the hand, and saluted him as a friend. The Senate, by that decree, prescribed to Antiochus, that he should immediately put an end to the war with Ptolomy, whom the Roman people had taken under their protection. In this manner the Roman people acted in respect to the greatest monarchs. The terror of their arms had made such strong impressions, that not only the tributary Kings, but the Princes in alliance with them, did not refuse to come to Rome in person to render an account of their conduct, when it seemed to be suspected by the Senate and People, before whom their cause was pleaded, like that of private persons. Hence it was not extraordinary for these citizens to see Kings at their feet, imploring their protection. All the powers in alliance with the Roman people, the provinces, and considerable cities of the empire, had each some Senator, who served them as a patron with the republic, and whose protection and services they purchased by great presents; which were one of the sources of those prodigious fortunes that were seen before the fall of the Commonwealth, and which were not so common under the Emperors, those sources having dried up, as soon as the Commonwealth was at an end. For those patrons were no longer employed; and the governors of the provinces could not pillage so easily as before, a stop being put to that by the vigilance of the Procurators sent into

Appian.  
de Bell.  
Civ.

Dio Cass.  
l. 57.

into them by the Emperors. The Senators, whose power was become very narrow, were no longer applied to; it was to the favourites and freedmen of the Emperors to whom recourse was had, and of whom protection was bought.

But the better to shew the respect and submission of the foreign powers for the Roman people, I shall again have recourse to the historian Polybius. He relates, that Prusias King of Bithynia having come to Rome expressly to congratulate the Senate upon the victory gained over Perseus the last King of Macedonia, he had the abject meanness to appear dressed as a freedman, and to say to them: Behold your freedman, ready to obey you in all things. Advancing after to the place where the Senate was assembled, he stooped at first at the door, with his arms hanging down, kissed the threshold, and afterwards the footstool of the seats of the Senators, saying to them at the same time: I salute you, my tutelary Gods. What could he have done more, except he had sacrificed to them? After these instances we ought to be less surprized, that the Roman people abandoned themselves to that haughtiness which seemed natural to them, than to see them on a sudden so base and creeping under the Emperors. And what ought still to augment our surprize is, that the Senate was the first body of the State, which set the example of the most contemptible adulation, in praising the most enormous irregularities of the Emperors; whilst the rest of the people shewed, in murmurs sufficiently loud, that the spirit of liberty, by which they were animated of old, was not entirely extinguished in them. They retained it long after; for Tertullian in his Apologetic, reproaches the Romans with holding discourses full

VI.

*Respect paid to the*

*Roman*

*People by*

*foreign*

*powers.*

Polyb.

Frag 97.

Tac. l. 1.

VII.  
*Statue of  
 Tiber, to  
 which sa-  
 tirical po-  
 ems and  
 lampoons  
 were af-  
 fixed.*

full of disrespect for the Emperors in the *Circi*, theatres and amphitheatres; and of affixing, according to custom upon the statue of Tiber, satires and lampoons against them. This passage shews us, that this statue of Tiber served for the same use, as that of Pasquin at this day; which has occasioned that kind of poems to be called *Pasquinades*.

To comprehend how this extraordinary change could happen in so short a time, it is necessary to remember, that the civil wars, excited by the ambition of the citizens, had destroyed most of the antient families, educated in that spirit of liberty and loftiness; for the fury of those wars fell heaviest upon the Nobility. Tiberius afterwards, in effect of his cruel policy and extreme distrust, caused also a great number of them to perish: so that the Senate was no longer composed, but either of persons educated during these troubles, and prepared for the yoke by the experience of the fate of their fellow-citizens, or of the sons of freedmen and strangers of all the provinces of the empire, newly made citizens, to whom such meanesses did not appear so odious. It is no wonder that the Senate, composed of such persons, should sooner adapt themselves to the yoke, than the rest of the people, and give the first proofs of it. Thus did the civil wars prepare and bring on a change so considerable with such rapidity.

Vell. Pat.  
 l. 2. c. 47.  
 Tac. l. 1.

Dio. Cass.  
 l. 56.

CHAPTER VI.

- I. *Of the Senators.* II. *Senators called Fathers.*  
 III. *Income necessary to qualify a person for the*  
*dignity of Senator.* IV. *Fortunes to qualify*  
*Senators and Knights at the discretion of the Em-*  
*perors.* V. *Title of Clarissimus, or Most Il-*  
*lustrious, given to the Senators.* VI. *Presents*  
*made by the Commonwealth.* VII. *Time when*  
*the Senate's authority was greatest.* VIII. *Man-*  
*ner of giving opinions and voting in the Senate.*  
 IX. *Senators called Senatores Pedarii.*

**I**T is now time to speak of the Senators in particular, and to shew the origin of that august body, the number of which it was composed, and the qualifications necessary for being admitted into it. It owed its institution to Romulus, who formed it at first of an hundred persons; he afterwards doubled that number, and Tarquinius Priscus in his reign augmented it to three hundred, at which number it was long fixed. It ceased to be so at last; for sometimes it rose to seven, and sometimes to nine hundred, and a thousand, which was of very short duration. Augustus reduced it to six hundred. The Kings nominated the Consuls at first; and after their expulsion, the Consuls used the same right, till the Censors were created, who having power to degrade, and to reduce those who had done any thing unworthy of their rank into an inferior order, and also to place the citizens in an higher or lower class, according to their fortunes, had also power to fill up the vacant places in the Senate. And if we find in some passages of the Roman history, that the People

I.  
Of the Se-  
nators.  
  
Liv. l. i.  
  
Suet. in  
vit. Aug.  
Val. Max.  
l. ii. c. 9.  
  
Liv. l. 3.  
sometimes



II.  
*Senators*  
*called Fa-*  
*thers.*  
 Plut.  
 Quæst.  
 Rom. 52.

sometimes nominated Senators, it was only in extraordinary cases. None were pitched upon for these vacancies, but either persons who had passed through the great offices, or Knights. This dignity was not hereditary: it was acquired only by merit, or services rendered the Commonwealth. Their children were ranked amongst the Knights. The Emperors having afterwards assumed the authority of Censors to themselves, which office they suppressed, conferred the dignity of Senator on whom they thought fit. The Senators were called Fathers out of respect, and because it was their duty to be Fathers of the People: which was the reason that the name of Patricians was given their descendants. But they were distinguished into two kinds, the great Patricians, descended from the Senators created by Romulus, and the small. To distinguish the latter, they were at first called *Patres conscripti*, because wrote upon the same list with the antient Senators: but in process of time, that name became common to the whole body: for they were called so in addressing discourse to them when assembled. It is said, that those who descended from these first Senators, to express the antiquity of their nobility, wore \* small crescents of silver or ivory in their shoes, which served them instead of buckles. As it was necessary, that there should be a certain number of Senators in their assembly to render their decrees authentic, those who were absent on the day fixed were fined. Augustus augmented that fine, and caused an ordinance to be made upon that head,

\* *Appositæ nigræ lunam subtexit alutæ.*

*Juv. Sat. VII. de Quintil.*  
*The crescent clasp'd his Spanish-leather shoe.*

that no decree should pass, if the assembly did not consist of four hundred Senators. It usually met three times a month during the Commonwealth, upon the calends, nones, and ides; but under Augustus only twice, upon the calends and ides of every month. The Senators were convoked by a proper officer, whereas the assemblies of the People were called by sound of trumpet. There was no fixed place for the assemblies of the Senate: but they always met in a temple, as in those of Concord, Jupiter Capitolinus, Castor and Pollux, Apollo, &c. It was previously necessary that the temple should have been consecrated by the Augurs: and it was for that reason that the halls, or *Curiæ*, called *Hostilia*, *Julia*, or *Pompeia*, had been consecrated by the Augurs, in order to the Senate's assembling in them.

None could be admitted to this dignity till thirty years old; and it was necessary then to have passed through the Consulship or other principal offices, and to have at least five and twenty thousand crowns a year for supporting it with honour. This regulation was not made till long after the institution of the Senate, and when the Commonwealth was become opulent. For at first the citizens were only distributed into different classes, according to the estates which they had; and long after the establishment of the Republican State, the poverty of a citizen did not prevent him from rising to the highest dignities, and from filling them with suitable decency; because during the time of his being in office, the Commonwealth supplied him with all that was necessary, when he was obliged to appear in public: for except on those occasions, they lived at home as private persons. The Emperor Augustus,

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

III.

Income necessary to  
qualify a  
person for  
Senator.

gustus, not thinking even that estate sufficient, fixed the revenue of a Senator at about four thousand five hundred pounds a year. The Senators were not permitted to trade in any manner: but it is probable, that in process of time some of them were concerned in farming the public revenues, as the Emperor Adrian ordained, that no Senator should be capable of farming the public taxes, either in his own, or the name of another. If any considerable loss happened to them in their fortunes, which deprived them of the estate prescribed, the Censor in making the muster or *Census*, struck them off the list of the Senators, to place them on that of the Knights, which was below it. And it was still necessary, that they should have an estate left, suitable to the second order, to which they were reduced; otherwise they were put into the third, which was that of the People. But when there was no longer any *Census*, nor Censors except the Emperors, the quantity of fortune to qualify a Senator, as well as that of a Knight, depended on the will of the Emperors. During a great length of time, it was the custom to receive none into this first order, but those called Patricians: but at length even the third were equally admitted, provided they had passed through the great offices of the Commonwealth, and had a sufficient estate. Such of the Patricians however, who by diminishing their estates had been removed into an inferior order, did not lose the quality of Patricians, which facilitated their advancement to the first dignities of the Commonwealth, and their re-admission into the order from which they had fallen, as soon as they had acquired sufficient fortunes for that purpose. Thus we see that there were three kinds

Dion Cass.  
l. 6.

IV.  
*Fortunes to  
qualify Se-  
nators and  
Knights at  
the discre-  
tion of the  
Emperors.*

kinds of Patricians, according to the three orders of the Commonwealth; and that there were in like manner three kinds of Plebeians, as soon as the People had obtained a right to share in all the dignities of the State.

The marks of distinction of the Senators were the robe *Latus-clavus*, or with a large border of purple. They had the most honourable place at the Shews, which in the theatre was the orchestra. Some time after the first Emperors, the title *Clarissimus*, *Most Illustrious*, was first given to all the Senators.

V.  
Title of  
Clarissi-

When the Commonwealth thought proper to acknowledge the services received from some King in alliance with her, the Senate sent a Senator to him, in quality of ambassador, to carry him the present of the State, which consisted of an ivory staff, like that which the Consuls carried, and the same kind of robe, as that worn by generals in their triumphs. These were the most honourable marks of her gratitude. This custom was observed under the Emperor Tiberius; but we do not find that it subsisted after him.

mus given  
the Sena-  
tors.  
VI.  
Presents  
made by the  
Common-  
wealth.

Tacit. l. 4.

The time when the Senate's authority was greatest, must be dated from the expulsion of the Kings, till some short time after the creation of the Tribunes of the People, when upon the occasion of Coriolanus, a law was passed, by which it was ordained, that every Roman citizen, Patrician or other, when cited, should be obliged to answer before the People assembled in the *Comitia Tributa*, or by Tribes. For till then no affair had been referred to the People, except by a *Senatus-consultum*, that is say, a decree of the Senate: the Kings themselves had conformed to this custom out of consideration

VII.  
Time when  
the Senate's  
authority  
was great-  
est.



for the Senate. The diminution of the power of the Senate, and the increase of that of the People, began at this period : for till then the Patricians had acknowledged no judge but the Senate alone.

Those who are ever so little read in the Roman history know, that all which related to the administration of the Commonwealth was transacted in the Senate, except the creation of magistrates, new laws, and declarations of war and peace, which only the People had power to make.

VIII. The manner of giving opinions and voting in

*Manner of the Senate, was not always the same. In the giving opinions and voting in the Senate.* early times they began by the oldest Senators, and the rest went on each according to his age, till it came to those who had no deliberative voices or right to speak. Afterwards, when

*Aul. Gell. J. 4. c. 10. Appian. de bell. civ. J. 2. Suet. in vit. J. Cæs.* there were Censors, the opinion of the Prince of the Senate was first taken, and the most antient persons of Consular dignity spoke next. We find, that in Cicero's time the Consuls elect gave their opinions first. Suetonius tells us, that in Cæsar's time, the person on whom the Consul had conferred that honour in the beginning

*Suet. in vit. Aug.*

of the year, continued to speak first during all the rest of it. Under the Emperors, their will served as a rule : for as the Prince presided in the Senate, he demanded the opinion of him first, whom he thought fit to do that honour : however, he more usually began with the Consuls. When any one had opened an affair, and the question was to put it to the vote, those who approved it went to the side of the speaker, and those of a different opinion to the other side ; so that it was easy to see at one glance, on which side the plurality of voices was, without having occasion to collect them.

This was called in Latin, *Pedibus in alicujus sententiam ire*, from whence those who had no deliberative voices, or right to speak, were called *Senatores Pedarii*. All who had passed through Curule offices, though they were not Senators, were admitted into the Senate; but they had not deliberative voices.

IX.  
Senatores  
Pedarii.

The right of calling the Senate was at first in the Kings: and under the Commonwealth, in the Consuls, Dictator, Master of the Horse, Prætors, Governor of Rome, and Tribunes of the People: but an inferior magistrate could not assemble it, except in the absence of the superior; which rule did not extend to the Tribunes of the People.

## CHAPTER VII.

- I. *Of the Knights.* II. *Of the Prince of the Youth.*  
 III. *Robe called Angustus-clavus.* IV. *Gold ring of the Knights.* V. *Knights that farmed the public revenues.* VI. *Of the Nobility.* VII. *The Prætor.* VIII. *The Prætorium.* IX. *The Great Prætor, or Prætor Urbanus.* X. *Provincial Prætors.*

I.  
*Of the  
 Knights.*

NEXT to the order of Senators was that of the Knights, which was the second in the Commonwealth. They were created to serve in the army, and at first composed all the Roman horse; but soon after there was a different cavalry. They had an horse kept at the public expence given them, which was armed and caparisoned; and that distinguished them from the rest. But in process of time, the whole Roman cavalry, in imitation of that of the Greeks, had the same advantage, except the troops called the light-horse. At every *Census*, the Censors made the Knights pass before them in review, calling each by his name; and those who had not the \* estate prescribed by the law for keeping their rank, that is to say something less than half what a Senator ought to have, or had committed any action repugnant to good manners, were struck out of the list of Knights.

\* ————— Exeat, inquit  
 Si pudor est, & de pulvino surgat equestri,  
 Cujus res legi non sufficit. ————— *Juv. Sat. III.*

*Pack hence, and from the cover'd benches rise,  
 (The Master of the ceremonies cries)*

*This is no place for you, whose small estate  
 Does not amount to the Equestrian rate.*

*Dryden.*  
 The

The horse kept at the public expence was taken from them, and they were placed in the third order, that is to say that of simple citizens. Those also, whose horses appeared in a bad condition, were struck off the list; but only for a time, and they might be re-instated at another *Census*.

During the Commonwealth, the Prince of the Youth was chosen out of the order of the Knights: he was so called, because he was at the head of the young nobility in the feasts and games. He whom the Censor called first at the review which he made every *Census*, was acknowledged Prince of the Youth. They changed in that manner, because that place could be filled only by a young man: but under the Emperors, it was given only to the presumptive heirs to the Empire, or to the near relations of the Emperor; and it was himself who nominated to that place.

The Knights were reviewed every year on the Ides of July. They appeared then in pomp, with all the marks of honour annexed to their order, and with wreaths of olive upon their heads, carrying in their hands the military ornaments, which their valour had obtained from their generals. This march began at the temple of Honour, which was without Rome, and ended at the Capitol. It was not allowed at this time to cite them before the judges, in order that they might not fail to be present at this ceremony.

The Knights, as well as the Senators, by way of distinction wore a robe bordered with purple, but narrower, to shew the difference; for which reason it was called *Augustus-clavus*. They had their fixed places at the Shews next immediately

II.  
Of the  
Prince of  
the Youth.

Tac. l. 12.

Val. Max.  
l. 2. c. 2.

III.  
Robe called  
Augustus-



- IV. diately to the Senators. The gold ring on the  
*Gold ring* finger was also a distinction annexed to the rank  
*of the* of Knight; but it became common in time to  
*Knights.* others, for insensibly all the Romans wore it, except the freed-men. Augustus granted Musa,  
 Dion Cass. his physician, who was only a freed-man, permission to wear a gold ring upon his finger, and  
 l. 53. his whole profession at the same time. The  
 Herod. l. 3. Emperor Septimus Severus, after the defeat of his competitor Albinus, gave the like permission to all his soldiers. The Knights, long before the end of the Commonwealth, were exempt from their principal function, which was to serve in the army, and did nothing more than the rest of the citizens. But at the same time they were  
 V. studious to enrich themselves by farming the re-  
*Knights,* venues of the Commonwealth, which privilege  
*farmers of* they caused to be given themselves, exclusively  
*the reve-* of all others. The Knights who entered into  
*nues of the* this scheme, were divided into as many societies  
*Common-* as there were provinces that paid tribute. Be-  
*wealth.* sides this advantage, Caius Gracchus being be-  
 Tacit. l. 4. coming Tribune of the People, and desiring to bring over the Knights into his party, rendered them more powerful than they had ever  
 Vell. Pat. been, by giving them cognizance of the crimes  
 l. 9. c. 13. of public extortion and malversation, which be-  
 Appian de longed before to the Senators. It was at this  
 bell. civ. time the Knights formed a second order of  
 l. 1. the Nobility, as we have observed already. Gracchus gave them this prerogative, under pretence that the Senators had suffered themselves to be corrupted in acquitting Aurelius Cotta Salinator, and Manius Aquilius, conquerors of Asia, who had been accused of embezzeling the public money. This was in some measure subjecting the first order of the Commonwealth  
 to

to the second; because if the Senators were accused of malversations on quitting their offices, the Knights became their judges. Those of the second order, who had possessed the great magistracies, were admitted into the Senate, but without having deliberative voices, or right to speak. At length the horse kept at the public expence was suppressed: however, we do not find That had taken place in the time of Caligula; as Suetonius tells us, that in a review of the Knights made by that Emperor, he deprived those of their horses who had a note of infamy upon their names. This suppression therefore cannot be dated, till between the reigns of Caligula and Vespasian: for Pliny says, that in his time the Knights had no longer any horses kept at the expence of the public. When any place was vacant in the Senate, they were generally filled up by persons of this second order. It became exceedingly numerous, particularly under the Emperors, most of whom admitted their freed-men, or whomsoever they thought fit, to the dignity of Knight and even of Senator, which they bestowed indifferently upon persons of all the provinces of the Empire, and often where merit had no share in that gift. The Senate in consequence lost much of its authority at that time, having no other part in the government, than what the Emperors thought fit to give it. The good Princes however did nothing without consulting it; but the bad either had no other rule but their will, or abandoned themselves entirely to the councils of their freed-men; so that all power was lodged in the hands of vile slaves, who abused it. Though the two first orders of the Commonwealth were obliged to have a certain estate, we must not believe,

Suet. in vit. Calig.

Tac. l. vii. Suet. in vit. Claud.

M 4 that

VI.  
*Of Nobility.*

that Nobility was to be acquired amongst the Romans solely by riches. It was only a wise precaution of the Commonwealth, which, by that regulation, intended to prevent indigence from being the occasion of committing any thing unworthy of their rank by the two first orders of the State : for only the children of those, who had passed through the great offices, became noble. It was on this account, that the first of a family, who attained those dignities, were called *Novi homines*, *New men*, as being the authors of the Nobility of their family.

Appian de  
Bell Civ.  
l. 2.

This is the reproach which Catilina made Cicero, when he was preferred to the Consulship before him, because he actually was the first nobleman of his family. Nobility in consequence was no longer confined to the two first orders, when the Plebeians were admitted into the great offices.

The first dignities of the Commonwealth, next to the Consulship, were that of Prætor, Censor, Ædile and Quæstor.

VII.  
*The Prætor.*

The Prætorship was annual, and conferred with the same auspices as the Consulship. This dignity was instituted in the 388th year of Rome. The absence of the Consuls, who usually quitted Rome to command the armies in the field, gave birth to this charge. It was thought proper, that there should be a magistrate in the city to administer justice in their stead ; for that was the principal function of this office ; which occasioned the name of *Prætorium* to be given the place, where justice was dispensed. He was considered, in the quality of judge, as the protector of widows and orphans. During the absence of the Consuls, the Prætor had equal authority with them. He had a right to assemble the

VIII.  
*The Prætorium.*

the Senate, and to preside in the public games. He was also obliged to exhibit Shews during the year of his office, and to celebrate the feast of the *Bona Dea*, or good goddess, in which his wife presided ; for the men were excluded from it. He had also right to decree and proclaim the public feasts : he could make and annul laws, but not without the approbation of the People, and the advice of the Senate. He kept a register of all the freedmen that were enfranchised at Rome, and of the causes why made free. He Val. Max. l. 9. c. 12. had a right in the absence of the Consuls to command the armies : he wore the robe *Prætecta* ; was honoured with the Curule chair, and two Lictors, who walked before him in Rome, and six out of the city. He was attended by a register or secretary, and other inferior officers, called *Accensi*, because they summoned the People to assemble on the Prætor's order. He also commanded the Quæstors, who served him as lieutenants, and to whom he referred a part of the affairs of his office. The Prætor called IX. The Great Prætor. *Urbanus* or *Major* rode a white horse as a distinction of honour. A sword and a spear were planted upright before the Prætor's tribunal, whilst he gave audience. At first there was but one : but as the multitude of affairs drew abundance of strangers to Rome, a second was created, solely to administer justice to them. In the beginning these places were filled up only by Patricians ; four were afterwards added to make the number six. Those four took cognizance of certain public crimes, extortion, canvassing votes prohibited by the laws, and high-treason, which last amongst the Romans intended all crimes against the liberty and privileges of the citizens. In proportion as the number was multiplied,



tiplied, which afterwards amounted to six, the peculiar cognizance of different affairs were assigned to each of them. Julius Cæsar created two, who were called Prætors of Ceres, because they took care that provisions of corn were brought to Rome.

Suet. in  
vit. J Cæs.

The aggrandisement of the Commonwealth occasioned the number of the magistrates to be augmented. As soon as she extended her conquests out of Italy, she made provincial Prætors to govern the conquered people. They administered justice, and commanded the troops in their provinces, where they received the same honour as in the city, being like them invested with this office only for a year. Appian tells us, that in the war with Antiochus the Great, the Romans sent *Proprætors* into the provinces newly conquered, to whom they gave half the power of Consuls, with half the honours, which consisted in having six Lictors with their axes, whereas the Consuls had twelve. When the Roman magistrates tried an affair, the judges wrote their opinions, and threw them into an urn, from whence they were taken out, and the cause adjudged according to the plurality of voices.

X.  
*Provincial  
Prætors.*

Appian.  
de Bell.  
Syr.

CHAPTER VIII.

I. *Different tribunals at Rome.* II. *Manner of citing before the judge.* III. *Duumviri.* IV. *Punishment inflicted.* V. *Executioners of justice.*

IN the time of the Commonwealth there were three tribunals; for they pleaded, either <sup>I.</sup> *Different tribunals at Rome.* before the People in the general assemblies, before the Prætor, who was the usual judge, or before the judge commissioned by the Prætor. These magistrates could not be absent from Rome above ten days; and when they passed sentence of death upon any one, they quitted the robe bordered with purple to put on a mourning one. The citations to appear before the Prætor were verbal: but if a person, after being summoned verbally, refused to appear, the laws of <sup>II.</sup> *Manner of citing before the judge.* the twelve tables gave permission to drag him before that magistrate by force, encircling his neck for that purpose in a corner of his robe. There was also another manner of citing before the judge; this was to touch the tip of the ear of the person cited in the presence of a witness. This method of citing obliged the person cited to appear before the judge. In the same manner, when they took any one to serve as a witness, they \* touched the end of his ear, asking him, *Will you be a witness for me?*

The Prætor had not so extensive a power under the Emperors as under the Commonwealth.

■ ———— Licet antestari? Ego verò  
Oppono auriculam. *Hor. L. I. Sat. ix.*  
*Will you be witness, Sir? I turn my ear*  
*With joy* ————

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

Augustus took from him the cognizance of abundance of affairs, and transferred it to the præfect or governor of Rome. The successors of that Prince successively divested the Prætors of many affairs, to give them to other officers. And when the dignity of *Præfectus Prætorio* was become in a manner the sole great office, and the second place of the empire, many things were taken from the Prætorship and attached to it, so that this antient office became then of little consideration, in comparison with what it had been during the Commonwealth.

Tac. l. 1.  
Id. l. 14.

Tiberius nominated the Prætors; but we find in Tacitus, that Nero left the nomination of them to the Senate, and ordained, that those who appealed to the Senate from any judgment given by the inferior judges, should deposit the same sum, as those who appealed to the Emperor: which shews that in appeals to the Emperor, it was necessary to deposit a sum, that Tacitus does not fix; and which served as a fine, in case of losing the cause.

Though Nero had left the nomination of Prætors to the Senate, it reverted after him to the Emperors, as well as that of all the magistrates.

Under the Commonwealth chicanery had not infected the tribunals; and when eloquence shone out there, only the orator's address and subtlety in making the laws speak in favour of his cause, were to be apprehended. Amongst the judges inferior to the Prætor, were two called *Duumviri*, who took cognizance only of criminal matters. They could condemn to death: but when the criminal was a Roman citizen, he could appeal from their sentence to the People. This office was in great consideration,

as well on account of the power annexed to it, as its antiquity, having been instituted by King Tullus Hostilius, on occasion of the murder committed by Horatius, the conqueror of the three Curiatii, on his sister; and it had continued from thenceforth during the Commonwealth.

Amongst the punishments inflicted amongst the Romans, there was one peculiar to them, but not used against the Roman citizens: it was to brand the criminal in the forehead with the letter S, and sometimes more letters, or even whole words, according to the nature of the crime. That these characters might remain the longer, ink was laid upon them; which punishment masters usually inflicted upon their slaves. We have already observed, that in the beginning of the Commonwealth, the Lictors acted as executioners: but under the Emperors, soldiers, and sometimes young gladiators, were employed, in order to enure them to the shedding of human blood. There were however executioners of justice at that time, who had their fixed abode in a particular quarter.

IV.

*Punishments inflicted.*

V.

*Executioners of justice.*



## CHAPTER IX.

- I. *Censor.* II. *Function of the Censors.* III. *Adjudication of the farms of the Commonwealth.* IV. *Of the Prince of the Senate.* V. *The Curule Ædiles.* VI. *The Plebeian Ædiles.* VII. *The Quæstor.* VIII. *Comptrollers of the Quæstors.* IX. *Other kind of Quæstors.* X. *Of Proconsuls.* XI. *Reducing into a province, what it was.* XII. *Of the inferior officers of the Commonwealth.*

I.  
*Censor.*  
Liv. 4.

**N**EXT to the dignity of Prætor was that of Censor. It was created about the year of Rome 312. There were only two of them. To be admitted to that office, it was necessary to have first passed through that of Consul. At first it was not annual like the rest, and its duration was fixed at five years; but it was afterwards reduced to eighteen months. The election of Censors was made in the field of Mars by the People. After having returned the assembly thanks for that honour, they repaired to the Capitol to take possession of their office, and swear to act nothing out of enmity or favour, but to adhere to equity in all things. They had two principal functions; the first consisted in taking the *Census*, or number of the citizens and valuation of their fortunes, from whence they had the name of Censors. It was taken every five years, and that space of time was called *Lustrum*, on account of the expiatory sacrifice, called *Lustration*, which those magistrates caused to be made for purifying the people, after the *Census* was over. The *Census* was instituted by

II.  
*Functions of the Censors.*

Dion. Hal.  
l. 4. c. 4.

Servius

Servius Tullius King of the Romans. His successor Tarquin the Proud discontinued it: but it was revived under the Consuls, who took that function upon themselves. As they were often too much employed to have leisure to take the *Census*, and for that reason there had been none for seventeen years, it was thought proper to create two Censors. We have already mentioned the penalty ordained for such as gave in false accounts of the *Census*, and therefore we shall not repeat it here. The second function of the Censors was to preside in the construction of public buildings, for which they agreed with the undertakers; in collecting the taxes of the Commonwealth, which they farmed out, and adjudged to the tax-farmers in the open Forum. They were also charged with the civil government of the city, and inspected into the manners of the inhabitants. For that purpose they kept an exact register of the names, estates, and professions of every individual, as also of the number of their children and slaves. In this register, every citizen was placed in his class, and tribe, according to his fortune. The Censors at the time of the *Census* transferred them from an higher to a lower, according to the increase or diminution that might have happened in their estates: which was the more easy for these magistrates to do, as it was themselves who estimated them. They did this, in order that the assessments might be the juster, and the better proportioned to people's abilities: for all the citizens included in the muster made every *lustrum*, payed a tax of so much *per head*, except those of the sixth class, who were exempted on account of this poverty, as we have

already

III.  
*Adjudica-  
tion of the  
farms of  
the Com-  
monwealth*  
Cic. in  
Rull.  
Plut. in  
vit. Caton.

IV.  
*Of the  
Prince of  
the Senate.*

Liv. 1. 9.

already observed. The Censors also nominated the Prince of the Senate, that is to say, the principal person of that body, who in the beginning had a right to speak and vote first : but in after-times the Consuls conferred that honour upon whom they thought fit, as we have said in speaking of the Senate. It was conferred every *Census*, and might be given to the same person several times, as Plutarch, in the life of P. Æmilius, tells us in respect to M. Æmilius Lepidus, who was four times invested with it. After the fall of the Commonwealth, there was no longer any Prince of the Senate but the Emperor himself ; which quality he retained for life. The Censors also nominated persons to the dignity of Senator, in order to

fill up the vacant places. They had power to degrade Senators and Knights, and to divest the latter of the horse kept at the expence of the public, when either the one or the other had committed any action unworthy of their rank. They could deprive a simple citizen of the right of suffrage, and his other privileges, if he had deserved it, and make him liable to pay all the taxes laid upon strangers. They had power to lay a fine upon such as had lived to a certain age without marrying : for as we have already observed, the Commonwealth, from the interest it had in preserving itself made celibacy dishonourable. The Censors were charged with the care of causing water to be distributed to the citizens according to their occasions : we must understand here the water of fountains, which was brought to Rome by aqueducts ; for they did not commonly use that of the Tiber for drinking. They also repaired the public roads, and restrained luxury, and the superfluous

ous

ous expences of particulars. On the expiration of their office, they were obliged to draw up a summary account of what had passed during their administration, which was engraved on tables of brass, and kept in the place called the Temple of the Nymphs. If one of the Censors happened to die, the other was obliged to abdicate his office, and two new Censors were elected. A person could be Censor only once in his life. They had not power to call the assemblies of the People, nor to make any law. They were liable to be made to give an account of their conduct to the Tribunes of the People, and the Curule Ædiles. This magistracy did not subsist under the Emperors. We find in Suetonius, that Augustus caused a re-  
Suet in vit. Aug. Dion Cass. l. 53.  
view of the People to be made by ten men, whom he demanded of the Senate; which was not observed by the other Emperors, except Claudius, who caused a general muster of the  
Tac. l. 11.  
citizens to be taken, when they were found to amount to six millions nine hundred and forty four thousand; for it does not appear that his successors followed his example. Theodosius endeavoured to re-establish this office; but the Senate opposed it, and the Censorship continued attached to the Imperial dignity.

The Ædiles were also civil magistrates. They  
V. The Curule Ædiles.  
were annual, and to the number of four, of whom two were honoured with the Curule chair. They were elected out of the Patricians, as well as the Prætors, till the Plebeians attained to all the dignities; for which reason they were called the Great or Curule Ædiles. They were created in order to preside at the ce-  
Liv. l. 6. Id l. 7.  
lebration of the games called the Great or the Roman Games, solemnized to discharge a vow  
N made



made to Jupiter. They had the care of the public buildings, sacred edifices, *Fora*, markets, tribunals of justice, walls of the city, and theatres. They were obliged to exhibit games to the public at their own expence during the year of their office. In process of time, when the places at the Shews were distinguished, it was they who regulated and assigned each that which belonged to him, and took care that no disorders were committed there. It was a part of their function to examine dramatic pieces; and they had authority over the actors, whom they rewarded when they had performed their parts well. In a word, every thing that was necessary to the repairing or embellishment of the city, was under their jurisdiction. The two others, who were called the inferior or Plebeian *Ædiles*, because they had not the honour of the Curule chair, and were to be elected out of the People, were of a more antient institution than the two former. For they were created soon after the Tribunes of the People, and at the request of those officers; who being at first but few in number, demanded assistants to share with them in their functions. But some time after, when the number of the Tribunes of the People was augmented, the care of the public baths was assigned to these inferior *Ædiles*; as also to repair and cleanse the aqueducts, common-sewers, and streets; to cause the decrees of the Senate, and the ordinances of the People, to be observed; to prevent usury, and to visit the public houses, in order to prevent disorders. No one could stand for this office, till the age of thirty-seven or thirty-eight. Julius Cæsar added two more to their number, who were called *Cereales*, because they had the

VI.  
Of the  
Plebeian  
*Ædiles*.  
Dion. Hal.  
l. 6.

care

care of corn, meat, weights and measures. They also set a price upon provisions for man and horse; and if they were not good, they caused them to be thrown into the Tiber. The *Ædiles* were entirely suppressed under the Emperor Constantine. The *Ædileship* and office of *Quæstors* were steps to the attainment of more considerable dignities. Tac. l. 11. & 13.

The *Quæstorship* might be attained at the age of twenty-seven: it was annual, like the *Consulship*, and almost as antient. VII. *Quæstor.* Plut. in vit. Public. Tac. l. 11.

At first only two were created, who were elected by the People, and always out of the body of the Senators. We find in Livy, that they had power to assemble the People. In the 338th year of Rome, the People having demanded to have a share in this magistracy, their number was augmented to four, of whom two were for the city, and the other two attended the Consuls in the field. They had the keeping of the public treasure; but afterwards those to whom that office was confided, were called *Tribunes*: that treasure was kept in the temple of Saturn. The *Quæstors* had the care of receiving the revenues of the Commonwealth, and of entering an account of receipts and disbursements. Those who attended the Generals in the army, and who were sent into the provinces, kept also an account of their revenues as well ordinary as extraordinary, and of the spoils taken in war: for it was their business to see them sold, in order that the sums raised from them might be brought into the public treasury. They kept the military ensigns, that is to say, the Roman Eagles, which were generally of silver, and laid up in the public treasury, when the armies were not in the field. They gave Liv. l. 3. Ibid. Dion Hal. l. 11. c. 12.

VIII;  
*Comptrol-  
 lers of the  
 Quæstors.*

out the pay, and distributed the provisions amongst the troops. When the Generals of the army demanded triumphs of the enemy, they attested the truth of their actions upon oath, in order that it might be judged whether such demands were just, and the advantages gained deserved that honour. The increase of the power of the Commonwealth made the augmentation of their number to twenty necessary. These Quæstors had Comptrollers with them, and none but persons of known probity were admitted into that office; for which reason persons who had been Consuls thought it an honour to exercise it. We have already seen, that the Prætor referred part of his affairs to the Quæstors; for they took cognizance of the causes, which related to the public debts. But after the expiration of the Commonwealth, the change of government induced a considerable one also in the functions of that office. The Procurators of the Emperors, who were expressly created to have the care and administration of the revenues in the provinces of the Empire, where their employment was like that of Receivers-General of the finances in France, divested the Provincial Quæstors of their principal functions; whom Nero afterwards deprived of the cognizance of the causes which related to the public debts, to transfer it to the Præfect of the city. Tacitus, who relates this fact, observes, that this office had almost always been bestowed upon merit till the time of these changes, when it became the reward of Shews; because under the Emperors it was conferred only upon those who engaged to exhibit games to the public at their own expence, which was not practised before. But at length this dignity

was

Tac. l. 11  
 & 13.

Tac. Ann.  
 l. 16.

was made some kind of amends for all its losses, by the honour which the Prince did the Quæstors in making choice of them to speak in his name to the Senate, when he either could not, or would not, go to it himself.

In the time of the Commonwealth, there IX. were other officers, who also bore the name of Quæstors, though their functions were different from those of the former. The Senate sent them from time to time into the provinces, to make informations, and to try criminal affairs. They had also more authority and privileges than those of Rome; for in the provinces to which they were sent, they could assume the Curule chair, Licitors, and the other marks of honour peculiar to the principal magistrates. They had also the care of receiving Embassadors and foreign Princes, of attending them by way of doing them honour, of providing them houses, of delivering them the presents of the Commonwealth, and of executing all that the Senate decreed. Plutarch, in Plut. Qu. Rom. 43. the Roman Questions, tells us, that the foreign embassadors who came to Rome, went first to the Tribunes or keepers of the public treasure at the temple of Saturn to enter their names; that a present was sent them; that when they fell sick, they were taken care of at the expence of the public; that if they died, the State solemnized their funerals at its expence; but that all those expences were afterwards retrenched, on account of the great number of embassadors who came to Rome; and that only the custom of entering their names subsisted in his time.

Besides these different Quæstors, there were others also at Rome and in the Provinces,



whose sole function was to register and receive fines.

X.  
*Of Pro-*  
*consuls.*

The same necessity that there was for multiplying officers for the provinces, had obliged the State to create Proconsuls for commanding the armies in the room of the Consuls, and to govern the provinces, into which they were sent by the Senate. The maxim of the Com-

XI.  
*Reducing*  
*into a pro-*  
*vince,*  
*what it*  
*was.*

monwealth, in proportion as she made conquests, being to form them into governments, which was called reducing them into provinces, she began by depriving those conquered countries of their own laws and magistrates. She obliged them to receive the Roman laws; and according as the province was more or less considerable, sent into it a Proconsul, a Prætor, or a Proprætor, to govern it, who administered justice, and commanded the troops; and also a Quæstor, to take care that the tributes imposed upon them were paid. Sicily was the first country out of Italy, reduced into a province. When the freedom of Rome was granted to a province or city, it continued no longer reduced into a province. Appian relates, that before the war with the Allies, the provinces of Italy were assigned to Proconsuls. Those governors were nominated only for a year, after which the Senate sent others. If the government happened to be on the frontiers of a country, where there was a war, of which the conduct had been confided to the governor, the term of his administration was sometimes prolonged, that he might terminate the war: but this could only be done by an ordinance of the People in their assembly. The Proconsuls, Prætors, and Proprætors, had sometimes three Lieutenants under them in their governments, according to their extent; for in decreeing those provinces, the Senate fixed the

Appian.  
de Bell.  
Civ. l. 1.

extent

extent of each of them, regulated the number of troops, assigned funds for their pay and subsistence, and nominated the lieutenants to command under the governors. These Proconsuls, or governors, carried with them into their provinces a certain number of young persons of distinction, called *Contubernales*, in order to teach them the trade of war; and they formed a kind of court for the governor. Before he quitted Rome, he went to the Capitol to sacrifice, and put on the robe of war, called *Paludamentum*, which denoted the command of the troops; and which was also done by those who took the field to command the armies of the Commonwealth. They quitted Rome in a kind of pomp, preceded by their Lictors carrying the rods and axes, and attended by their friends to a certain distance from the city. They governed their provinces according to the Roman laws, and the customs observed by the magistrates at Rome. The year of their office was computed from the day they began to exercise the functions of it, and not from that of their nomination. When a successor was sent one whose time was expired, the latter resigned the troops under his command to him, and could not defer his departure above thirty days after the arrival of his successor. If, when his year was elapsed, nobody was sent to succeed him, he however quitted his government, but left his lieutenant to command in it, till the new governor arrived; and at his return he gave the Senate an account of his administration. He also drew up a summary of it, which was deposited in the Treasury thirty days after the account he had given the Senate. The Proconsuls had the

Tac. l. 6.  
c. 9.  
Suet. in  
vit. J. Cæs.

Cic. pro  
Archia.  
Plut. in  
vit. Lucul.

Cic. in  
Verrem.

same honours in their provinces, as the Consuls at Rome, to whom they gave place in all things when present.

Dion Cassi  
l. 53.

This was the order observed during the Commonwealth, which was changed under the Emperors. For Augustus being become master of the Empire, and desiring that all the forces of the Empire should be at his disposal, believed as a politician that it was proper to retain a shadow of the Commonwealth, and for that purpose in the 726th year of Rome, he made a kind of partition of the administration of the Empire, to which he annexed the appearance of the government of a certain number of provinces, that being in the centre of the Empire, had no occasion for troops. The Senate sent governors, with the name of Proconsuls or Proprætors, into those provinces, who administered justice in them, but they had neither the command of the troops, nor the administration of the finances, both the one and the other being confided to persons sent into them by the Prince; that is to say, the command of the troops to officers nominated by him, and the finances to his Procurators. Augustus, in order to have all the troops entirely at his disposal, reserved to himself the frontier provinces, of which the people were most warlike, under pretence of discharging the Senate from the cares of war. The governors whom he nominated to those provinces, were called Præfects: they administered justice and commanded the troops in their government.

These were the principal dignities of the Commonwealth. Though those who were invested with them, were elected only to command the  
armies,

armies, and to be at the head of the most important affairs of the State, it was however necessary for those purposes to have a particular commission, decreed by the people in their assembly. It was in this manner, that the commission Plut. in to carry on the war against Mithridates was given to Sylla; and that of clearing the sea of pirates to Pompey; and many others of the same nature. When such a commission, which was called in Latin *imperium*, was united with the magistracy, the latter became the more considerable in effect of it. The custom was, during the Commonwealth, for those who quitted the great offices to draw lots for the provinces Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 11. they were to govern. It subsisted under Augustus: but after him the Emperors nominated persons to the government of provinces. As to the other dignities, which were called *Minores*, inferior; I omit them to avoid swelling this treatise too much.

All these great magistrates had officers to act under them in their functions, as Registers or Secretaries; and *Viatores*, whose sole employment it was, to let the absent Senators know the days when the Senate was to assemble. XII. Of the inferior officers of the Commonwealth. They had others whose business it was to call the names of the causes as they came on, to make silence, and to give the magistrates notice when their presence was necessary. Those called *Statores* carried the orders of the magistrates to accused persons to appear on a certain day, and seized criminals. There were also interpreters to explain the discourse of ambassadors, and letters from foreigners. The Serjeants or Criers, in Latin *Præcones*, who cried the moveables and estates that were to be fold



fold by auction, and who published, and proclaimed the laws with a loud voice, and whatever else it was necessary to make known to the People. All these low officers of the Commonwealth were comprized in the general name of *Aspiritores*, because they were always near the magistrates to receive their orders. These offices were generally held by freed-men, the Roman citizens thinking such employments beneath them.

## CHAPTER X.

- I. *Laws of the Auspices.* II. *Election of the magistrates.* III. *Assemblies by Curiae.* IV. *Assemblies by Centuries.* V. *Advantage of the Nobility in the assemblies by Centuries.* VI. *Assemblies by Tribes.* VII. *Patricians obliged to appear at the tribunal of the People.* VIII. *Every ninth day market-day.* IX. *Of Candidates.* X. *Corruption of suffrages.*

I Have already said, that the Romans were I. exceedingly swayed by the superstition of <sup>Laws of the Auspices.</sup> Auspices, and that they undertook nothing of any consequence, without having taken them. This custom had began with Rome itself: for Romulus had not contented himself with only causing the Auspices to be considered as an act of religion, but had made a law, by which it was ordained, that no one should accept the sovereignty, nor any other great office, or the command of armies, without having first consulted the Auspices to know the will of the Gods, and found them favourable. The institution of that law was rather the effect of the policy of Romulus, than of his religion. For in appropriating to himself, as he did, the function of Augur, he deprived the Senate and People, who shared in the administration of the State with him, of the power of undertaking any thing contrary to his will, having it at his option to declare the Auspices good or bad, as they suited his interests. The Patricians in the beginning of the Commonwealth acted in the same manner, in order to extend their authority; and reserved the dignity of Augur to themselves. The law

law of the Auspices was observed exactly under the Commonwealth, till the Plebeians had attained to be admitted into all dignities: but being no longer of use to favour the views either of the one or the other, it fell to the ground

Dion. Hal. insensibly of itself. Dionýsius Halicarnassensis l. 2. c. 3. tells us, that this law subsisted no longer in his time, and that only the form of it had been preserved; that in order to this, those who were invested with offices and dignities, passed the night under a tent, from whence they went out the next morning at break of day, to say certain prayers in an open place: That then some Augurs who were there, and whom the public paid for this kind of offices, came to them, and declared that they had seen lightning on the left hand, though they had actually seen none: and that the person who stood for the dignity, immediately went and accepted it.

II. The magistrates were elected in the assemblies of the People, which were called *Comitia*, and may be considered as the assemblies of the States; for they included the three orders of the Commonwealth. The most important affairs were transacted in them: the laws and ordinances were promulged; causes, which were to be heard before the tribunal of the People, were adjudged; and peace and war deliberated upon, in them: but as to war, the conduct of it appertained to the Senate and Consuls. There were three different manners of calling these assemblies, according to the different distributions of the Roman People, by *Curiae*, Centuries, and Tribes.

III. The first was the most antient, for it owed its institution to Romulus, who when he divided Rome into three Tribes, sub-divided it into thirty *Curiae*. Each *Curia* consisted of a certain district

district of the city, which had its peculiar Divinity, with a priest named *Curio*, and a place to assemble in, called *Curia*, in order to offer sacrifices to that Divinity at certain times. All the people of each *Curia* were obliged to be present at them, and they concluded with a feast composed of the meat of the victims sacrificed. To speak in modern terms, these *Curiae* formed in a manner so many parishes, over all which another priest, called *Curio Maximus*, presided in things relating only to religion. He was elected by the People assembled by *Curiae*; and the other *Curiones* by each particular *Curia*. In the assemblies by *Curiae*, only the citizens inhabiting Rome gave their suffrages: those of the country and other cities were not summoned to them. These assemblies were proclaimed by a kind of Serjeant, who went from *Curia* to *Curia*. They were held in a part of the *Forum Romanum*, which from thence retained the name of *Comitium*. Elections and public deliberations passed at first in these assemblies, till Servius Tullius, in instituting the *Census*, made a new distribution of the People by Classes, divided into Centuries, according to which the People were assembled by Centuries. He distributed the whole Roman people into six Classes, each according to the value of the citizen's estates, and sub-divided them into an hundred fourscore and thirteen Centuries. The first Class was composed of the most distinguished and the richest, whom he divided into fourscore and eighteen Centuries, including the eighteen of the Knights, whom he added to this Class. The four following, each of which he sub-divided into a certain number of Centuries, were composed of the citizens of inferior fortunes,

but

Dion. Hal.  
l. 4. c. 13.

IV.  
Comitia  
Centuri-  
ata.



but still with regard to more or less. The sixth Class consisted of those, who were not worth twelve hundred and fifty drachmas, and all the poor; and was reckoned only as one Century, though far the most numerous. We must observe, that the word *Century* is not to be taken literally in this place; and that it is only used to express an indefinite number of citizens of each Class, obliged to contribute to the arming of an hundred men. Thus in the first Class, which consisted of the richest citizens, it was necessary to include a smaller number of citizens to supply that expence; and for that reason there were more Centuries in it than in the other Classes, in which, the less fortunes the citizens had, it was necessary to include the more of them for furnishing the sum prescribed: and that occasioned the Classes, that were least rich, to consist of the fewer Centuries. This superiority in number of the Centuries of the first Class, gave it a very great one in the assemblies, called *Comitia Centuriata*, in which the voices were computed by Centuries, and taken according to the order of the Classes, beginning always with the first. In consequence, when all the suffrages of this Class

V.  
*Advantage  
 of the nobi-  
 lity in the  
 Comitia  
 Centuri-  
 ata.*

were unanimous, as sometimes happened, it could determine alone in public affairs, without its being necessary to proceed to the votes of the rest; because it exceeded them all in the number of its Centuries: so that the Patricians, and the richest citizens, engrossed the principal share in the government; the rest, to use the expression, making only ineffectual number. But at the same time, by this distribution, they in a great measure supported all the expences of the State, that is to say, the taxes and military service: for the poor were exempt from them, as

we have already seen. To render this the more supportable, Servius Tullius transferred all power to them, in ordaining, that the assemblies, which had hitherto been held only by *Curiae*, should be held for the future only by Centuries.

We find however in history, that Brutus, after the expulsion of the Kings, assembled the People by *Curiae*. During the holding of any kind of assemblies, an ensign was planted upon the top of the Capitol, which was struck as soon as they were over. Under the Commonwealth the People, being disgusted with seeing the Patricians and the rich sole arbiters of all deliberations in the assemblies by Centuries, prevailed at length, with the aid of their Tribunes, that the assemblies should be held by Tribes. The first time they were held in this manner, was about the 265th year of Rome, upon the occasion of the trial of Coriolanus, who had drawn upon himself the hatred of the People by his rigid and haughty behaviour, and was accused of embezzling the public money. He was condemned in consequence, notwithstanding the intrigues and efforts of the Patricians in his favour; which was the first instance of a Patrician's being cited before the tribunal of the People: for till then the Patricians had acknowledged no other than that of the Senate. But

Dion. Hal.  
l. 7. c. 15.

VI.  
Comitia  
Tributa.  
Dion. Hal.  
l. 7. c. 9.

in the 306th year of Rome, the Tribunes of the People passed a law, which ordained, that the Patricians, as well as the Plebeians, should be obliged to obey the decisions of the assemblies by Tribes, and that they should have the force of laws. From thenceforth, no citizen was exempted from appearing before the tribunal of the People, when cited.

VII.  
obliged to  
appear at  
the tribu-  
nal of the  
People.

In

VIII.  
Every  
ninth day  
market-  
day.

In the *Comitia Tributa*, or assemblies by Tribes, all such as were Roman citizens, in whatsoever part of the dominions of the Commonwealth they resided, had a right to vote except they had been deprived of it by the Censor for some delinquency, as may be seen in the article of Censors. These *Comitia* were held in the field of Mars, as well as those by Centuries. They were proclaimed by sound of trumpet, or kind of cornet, (and not by the mouth of a summoner, as the assemblies by *Curiae* were) three market-days successively, which were held every ninth day. This interval was allowed, that those who had a right to give their suffrages, and who resided in the country or colonies, might be informed of them. During the time from the first to the last of three successive market-days, notices were fixed up in all the cross-ways, and most public places of the city, wherein the affairs to come on in these assemblies were specified. But if the question was to propose some law, the People were advertised of it, and it was exposed to the public wrote on a table, that the People during that time might consider it, and be the better able to speak upon it on the day of the assembly. When any one was cited before the People to take his trial, he was also allowed twenty-seven days, or three market-days; and on the first of those three days, the People being assembled, the accuser ascended the tribunal of harangues, and assigned the accused the third market-day for his appearance; in order that the People might have time to take cognizance of the affair, and the accused to prepare for his defence. In the assemblies by Tribes, it was not necessary to communicate the matters on which they were to deliberate,

liberate, previously to the Senate, nor to take the Auspices, as was done in the assemblies by *Curiae* and Centuries, that were liable to being dismissed without proceeding to business, when the Auspices were not favourable, which practice degenerated into an abuse. It was often made use of as a pretext for breaking up assemblies, when it was foreseen, that they would not prove favourable to what was to be proposed. Before the votes in the *Comitia* by Tribes were taken, the Tribe which was to vote first was drawn by lot; which was also done in the assemblies by *Curiae*; and from the 512th year of Rome, when the whole People were divided into thirty-five Tribes, in which the Centuries were included, the same was observed in the assemblies by Centuries, in which the Tribes first, and afterwards the Centuries, were made to draw lots, without regard to the order of the latter, as before. These new dispositions in the manner of holding the assemblies, did not occasion the changing of their names; and though that of Century no longer signified the number of those who contributed to arm an hundred men, as the soldiery were then armed and paid out of the public treasury, the same name however was always used in the distribution of the Roman People. Appian relates in his first book of the civil wars of the Romans, when the Commonwealth granted the freedom of Rome to the inhabitants of Italy whom she called her allies, that they were not distributed into the thirty-five Tribes of the city, lest they should exceed them in number, but that they were formed into new ones, sub-divided into *Decuriae*, and gave their suffrages last, which were often superfluous, because the old ones were more than half the

Vell. Pat.  
l. 2. c. 20.



Grat. de  
Rom. l. 1.  
c. 4.

Tribes. In process of time, this disadvantage, which was observed, gave birth to new divisions, and they were at length incorporated into the old tribes, of which the number continued fixed at thirty-five. In all the assemblies the suffrages were constantly given with a loud voice, till the 614th year of Rome, when the custom of scrutinies was introduced. The People at that time, being no longer checked by the shame of giving their votes to bad citizens, suffered themselves to be corrupted by bribes, and introduced a venality of suffrages, that was soon fatal to the Commonwealth. The assemblies by tribes, consisting of all the Roman citizens in general, were more common than others, because every thing that related to the People in particular, was transacted in them. The *Plebiscita*, or ordinances of the People, which were not of the jurisdiction of the other assemblies, as well as the election of the magistrates, were made in them. These *Plebiscita* were not submitted to the examination of the Senate. Every different kind of assembly had its peculiar species of affairs assigned to it, as certain kinds of trials, deliberations, and the election of particular magistrates, which however were not always the same, and varied, as appears from the many changes, of which the augmentation of the Roman People, and the share the Plebeians attained in the government, were the principal causes. For in the beginning, the magistrates of every kind were elected in the assemblies by *Curiae*. When the assemblies by centuries took place afterwards, the great magistrates were elected in them, and afterwards in the assemblies by tribes. There remained nothing for the assemblies by *Curiae*,  
except

except the confirmation of the persons who had been elected in those by centuries, the promulgation of laws, and the creation of priests, which they still retained. In them the taking of the auspices, a ceremony unknown to the assemblies by tribes, was indispensibly necessary. After the municipal cities of Italy had obtained the freedom of Rome, as they were also for sharing in the election of the inferior magistrates, it was no longer peculiar to the assemblies by *Curia*, but was transferred to those by tribes, on condition however, that those elections should be confirmed by the *Curia*, that they might not be exempted from the law of auspices attached to those assemblies. At length we find in Cicero's time, that this custom was observed no longer; and that the Romans contented themselves with retaining the form of it, in continuing to assemble only thirty Lictors, who represented the thirty *Curia*, in order to make known the auspices it was the custom to take in them.

History is not so clear as it were to be wished in respect to the times of these variations. A magistrate constantly presided in all these assemblies, who opened them with a discourse upon the affair that was to come on, whether it were the election of a magistrate or any thing else. The elections of the magistrates were always preceded by a *Senatus-consultum*, or decree of the Senate, that ordained an assembly of the People. But all these different kinds of assemblies were not exempt from influence and canvassing. Those practices even became so frequent, that it was necessary to make laws to prevent them: but those laws were so far from putting a stop to them, that they served only to make the Romans more ingenious in continuing them.

Some time before the fall of the Commonwealth, the factions, which the lust of power had generated in the State, employed distributions of money to the people for gaining their suffrages. Such a corruption manifestly denounced the approaching ruin of the Commonwealth, and accordingly was one of the principal causes of it.

Plut. in  
vit. Pomp.

IX.  
*Of candidates.*  
Polyb. l.  
10.

Plut. in  
vit. Cori-  
ol. &  
Quæst.  
Rom. 49.

Those who stood for offices were called *Candidati*, because during the two years that they demanded them they were obliged, when they appeared in the assemblies of the People, to have only a white robe on without the tunic underneath, to remove all suspicion of carrying money about them to purchase suffrages, and in order to be able, if they had received wounds in the army, to shew them with the greater ease to the people in opening their robe, and thereby to conciliate their favour. These robes were whitened with chalk, which made their colour more lively than that of those usually worn by the Romans, which made the *Candidates* the more remarkable. They were called so from the word *candere* to be white. The first thing they did was to obtain the magistrate's permission to harangue, or to cause others to harangue, the people, in order to conciliate their favour, and obtain their consent, in respect to the offices they desired. In those discourses they did not fail to set off the candidate's merit and services, and those of his ancestors. The first year was employed in making friends amongst such as had most credit, and in endeavouring to render themselves agreeable to the People. After having effected that, they informed the magistrate of it, and prevailed upon him to put them upon the list of those who stood for office. The

magistrate after having made enquiries into the candidate's manners, consulted with the Senate, whether he should be admitted into the number of those, that were to be presented to the People. Though that had been granted, he had still the Tribunes of the People to fear, who had power to exclude him on the day of election. Besides this it was necessary to have all the qualities requisite to the office in question ; and if a person stood for the Consulship, it was necessary to demand it himself ; that dignity not being conferred on the absent. It was not necessary to make interest during so considerable a space of time, if the candidate was well known from the services he had done in the armies, and particularly if he was actually employed in them ; in which case it sufficed that he appeared at Rome a little before the election. Marius acted in that manner, when he was elected Tribune of the People, and afterwards Consul. The law *Tullia* prohibited all candidates to give games or feasts to the public ; lest the suffrages of the People should be obtained by their means. But in other respects nothing was spared for attaining them : caresses, intrigues, largesses were employed ; and towards the end of the Commonwealth they went so far as even to corrupt the distributors of the ballots, who in delivering them to the people for the scrutiny, dexterously slip a piece of gold under them to each person. For after the suffrages ceased to be given *viva voce*, ballots were used, upon which for the election of magistrates the names of the candidates were written, and as many of them distributed to each citizen, as there were competitors. But if the question was to pass some law or decree, which had been

Plut. in  
vit Mar.

X.

Corruption  
of suffra-  
ges.



proposed to the People, only two ballots were given to each voter, the one to approve, and the other to reject. Upon the first were an U and an R, which signified *uti rogas, as you propose*; and on the negative one was the letter A, the initial of *Antiquo, I abolish*. If the question were to pass judgment either for condemning or acquitting any one, three ballots were given each citizen, of which one had an A upon it, that signified *absolvo, I acquit*; another a C, which signified *condemno, I condemn*; and on the third were an N and an L, to express *non liquet, it does not sufficiently appear*. This last was used, when the accused person could not justify himself entirely, and however did not absolutely appear guilty.

When the day of the election arrived, the candidates, after having appeared on the Quirinal hill, in order to shew themselves the better to the whole people, went down into the field of Mars, accompanied by their relations and friends, at the head of whom there always was some person of great distinction in the Commonwealth, to support their demand by his presence, and assist them in rendering the suffrages favourable. At this time they treated every individual with great respect, desiring their interest, taking them by the hand, and saluting each by his name: for That was thought politeness amongst the Romans; and therefore the candidate had usually along with him one of those persons called \* *Nomenclators*, who told him

Cic. in  
Pison.

Tac. l. 12.

\* Si fortunatum species & gratia præstat;  
Mercemur servum, qui dicet nomina, lævum  
Qui fodiat latus, & cogat trans pondera dextram  
Porrigere. Hic multum in Fabiâ valet, ille Velinâ;  
Cuilibet

him the names of the citizens he did not know. To conclude, they were so fawning on these occasions, that they embraced the knees of those whose suffrages they solicited. The manner of taking the voices, after lots had decided which Century or Tribe should begin, was to make them file off over a little bridge, made for that purpose, in the field of Mars. This bridge terminated in a large inclosure, called *ovile* from its resemblance to a sheep-fold. When the assembly of the People was not held in the field of Mars, but in a place where there was not conveniency for this *ovile*, the want of it was supplied with cords, that formed a kind of enclosure, into which each century or tribe was made to file off. At the entrance of the bridge stood those who distributed the ballots, from whom each as he passed received such as suited the affair in question ; after which every one went and threw that which he thought fit into the urn or basket ; for both were used for receiving the ballots. They were placed at the entrance of this enclosure, and near them per-

Cuilibet hic fasces dabit, eripietque curule,  
Cui volet importunus, ebur ; frater, pater, adde  
Ut cuique est ætas ; ita quemque facetus adopta.

*Hor. L. I. Ep. 6.*

*If shew and favour happiness create,  
Let us put in for offices of state ;  
Buy us a slave, to jog us on the side,  
To tell us each man's name, his rank, his pride.  
" Extend your pinion'd arm, Sir, if you can,  
And seize his hand : You do not know your man :  
" The Fabian tribe is his, the Velian too ;  
" In Rome there's nothing that he cannot do ;  
" Confer the Fasces, or the Curule chair,  
" Or whom he does not like, of both debar.  
" According to their years, some fathers call,  
" Some brothers ; courteously adopt them all."*

sons of distinguished probity, who were appointed to take care that nothing passed contrary to the rules. After the votes of one century or tribe were taken in this manner, the rest did the same, till there was a sufficient number of suffrages to determine the affair.

When it was the election to some dignity, after having found which of the candidates had the majority of voices, the magistrate who presided in the assembly, declared him elected with a loud voice, and he was conducted home to his house in pomp. If at the time when the People were assembled for the election of magistrates, a tempest arose, they broke up, but less upon account of the badness of the weather, than through a spirit of superstition, which made them consider that bad weather, as a sign, that the present assembly was not agreeable to the Gods, and it was adjourned to another day. But however if the magistrate were elected before it began, his election stood. No magistracy of the Commonwealth could be attained till after having served ten years in the Roman armies. For which reason none were admitted into office till twenty-seven; the age for listing into the Roman legions beginning at seventeen. There were however some in respect to whom this law was dispensed with, as Scipio Africanus, Pompey and Augustus, upon whom the great dignities of the Commonwealth were conferred, before they were of the age required, and without having previously passed through the other offices: for the highest were generally attained only by degrees; and if a person's father was a prisoner of war amongst the enemy, he could not be raised to any magistracy during his continuing so.

CHAPTER XI.

- I. *Of the two different kinds of magistrates.* II. *Curule magistrates.* III. *Magistrates of the colonies.* IV. *Right of Latium, or of the Latins.* V. *Magistrates of the municipal cities.*

WE have already observed, that the magistrates of Rome were distinguished into two sorts, the great and the inferior. The great were those called *Curule*, because they had an ivory chair by way of distinction, which they could cause to be carried wherever they went. These chairs were very high, having several steps at bottom. Only the Consuls, Prætors, Censors, and *Curule* Ædiles, enjoyed this mark of honour in Rome, with Licitors, who walked before them in the city, to make way for them. When the magistrates of different orders met in the streets, the Licitors of the inferior magistrate were obliged to bow their *fascies* by way of respect for the superior. A law was even made in the 299th year of Rome, by which every magistrate was permitted to lay a fine upon such as should fail in respect for their dignity; a privilege before peculiar to the Consuls. To prevent this law from being abused by carrying the fine too high, it was ordained that it should not exceed two oxen and thirty sheep, which were paid at that time in kind. Afterwards, to obviate an inconvenience that attended it, because these cattle were sometimes of a greater, and sometimes of a less price, according to the goodness of those delivered, the law *Asteria* was made, by which it

I. *Of the two different kinds of magistrates.*  
II. *Curule magistrates.*  
Dio. Hal. l. 8. c. 6.  
Liv. l. 2.  
Dio. Hal. l. 10. c. 11.



it was regulated, that ten *asses* should be paid for each sheep, and an hundred for each ox ; which proves that before this law, these fines were paid in cattle.

When these magistrates caused the \* images of their ancestors to be carried in procession in certain ceremonies, it was an evidence of their nobility : but if only their own was seen, they were distinguished by the name of *novi homines*, new men. •

III. The inferior magistrates had not these marks of honour : however those sent into the provinces enjoyed them in their government, but not at Rome. The cities of the Roman colonies, in imitation of Rome, had a particular Senate, and magistrates of their own ; with the freedom of Rome in right of origin. They were sent from time to time to settle on the frontiers, and in the provinces newly conquered, in effect of the Roman policy, which took that method for ridding Rome of an indigent and seditious populace, and to reward the old soldiers. The Commonwealth caused part of the lands of those conquests to be distributed amongst them ; but they were not permitted to sell them, till after a possession of twenty years. She also used this method for repeopling cities ruined by wars, and to keep the new subjects in awe. For with their aid, and the armies which she always kept upon the frontiers, she had no occa-

III.  
*Magi-  
strates of  
the colonies*

Appian.de  
Bell. Civ.  
l. 2.

Id. l. 3.

\* ——— Funus & imagines  
Ducant triumphales tuum. Hor. Epod. 8.

————— And let triumphal statues grace  
Thy funeral.

Hos ante effigies majorum pone tuorum.

Juv. Sat. VIII.

————— Place these  
Before thy great forefathers images.

fion

sion to garrison places. But as to the municipal cities, though they had the same privileges, they had them only by the concession of the Commonwealth; and it was for that very reason they were called *Municipal*, with the freedom of Rome. They had also the liberty of living according to their own laws and customs, and shared in the dignities, as well as the colonies, and consequently in the government of the Commonwealth. The case was not the same with such people, as had only the quality of allies: for though they contributed to the expences of the Commonwealth, in paying the taxes which she imposed upon them, and in supplying the number of troops, as well horse as foot, that she prescribed, they had however no share in the government, and could only be considered as her subjects. She had nevertheless granted them peculiar privileges.

The first allies of the Commonwealth were the Latines, to whom, by the treaty of alliance, which she made with them about the year 261, Liv. 1. 2. she granted the right of being admitted to give Dio. Hal. 1. 8. their suffrages in the assemblies at Rome, when the magistrate who presided in them, should summon them thither, and there was no opposition on the side of his Collegues; clauses, which rendered that right almost insignificant, as if granted rather by way of honour, than with the view of really taking place. Accordingly they were seldom called in to give their suffrages, except in times of division. A more real IV. grace was the freedom of Rome, which de- Right of volved to their principal magistrate on the expi- Latium or ration of his office: for the states of Latium, of the La- before all of them were Roman citizens, which tines. Appian. de right was granted them in process of time, had Bell. Civ. 1. 2. retained

retained the liberty of electing one of their own citizens by plurality of voices, to govern them according to their peculiar laws under the title of *Prætor*. And this was called the right of *Latium*, or of the allies of the Commonwealth. She did not usually grant this privilege except to people, who had either voluntarily submitted to her sway, or who, after having only experienced some first efforts of her arms, were not the last to submit; in which cases she left them at liberty to live according to their own laws and customs. She did not act in the same manner with those, who had either deferred submitting to her power to the last extremity, or had been entirely subjected. She reduced them into provinces, into which a governor, under the title of *Proconsul*, *Prætor* or *Proprætor*, was annually sent from Rome, to govern and administer justice to them according to the Roman laws; and with him a *Quæstor* to levy the tributes.

V.  
Magi-  
strates of  
the muni-  
cipal cities.

The municipal cities had municipal *Decuriones*, who formed a little Senate in each city, which in process of time, after the example of Rome, had two magistrates, who served it instead of Consuls, and exercised the same functions. They were called *Duumviri* from their number two, and were elected by the *Decuriones* out of their own body. These *Decurions* were called in Latin *Honorati Municipiorum Senatores*. To be qualified for this dignity, it was necessary to be five and twenty years old, and to have an estate of about an hundred and fifty pounds a year. They passed ordinances, which were called *Decreta Decurionum*, and took care of all that concerned the good of their city, and the revenues of the Commonwealth. The colonies and municipal cities had also their *Censors*,

Senec.  
Ep. 95.

fors, who took the *Census* as at Rome, receiving from those of that city the form to be observed in taking it, and rendering them an account of their conduct.

All these petty provincial magistrates very much affected to copy those of Rome, in what related to marks of distinction. Horace \* has set the ridicule of one of them in a good light in his fifth satire, in describing the pomp of a simple register of the city of Fundi upon the way to Naples, who in walking through the city caused a vessel full of burning charcoal to be carried before him, an honour peculiar to the great magistrates.

\* Fundos Aufidio Lusco prætore libenter  
Linquimus, infani ridentes præmia scribæ,  
Prætextam, & Latum clavum, prunæque batillum.  
Hor. L. I. Sat. v.

*At little Fundi we refus'd to bait,  
But laugh'd at proud Aufidius' pomp and state ;  
A scriv'ner lately, now with mace and gown  
He buffs, and vainly lords it o'er the town.*

Creech.



## CHAPTER XII.

I. *Maxims of state under the Emperors.* II. *Change in the offices.* III. *Præfekt of the Treasury.* IV. *Præfektus Prætorio.* V. *Roman magistrates both of the Sword and Robe.* VI. *Of the name of Emperor.* VII. *The Empire become elective.* VIII. *Manner of acknowledging the new Emperors.* IX. *Division of the Empire.* X. *Diadem used by the Emperors.*

I. *Maxims of state under the Emperors.*

THE change, which was made in the government when the power of the Emperors took place of the Commonwealth, induced a considerable one in the maxims which had prevailed till then. The Commonwealth had judged war advantageous; the Emperors on the contrary preferred peace. It also very much affected the great offices of the State, most of which lost their principal authority: some of them were entirely suppressed, and the Emperors assumed others to themselves, to render themselves more absolute; as those of Great Pontiff, and Tribune of the People. The Rescripts of the Emperors took the place of the *Plebiscita* or Ordinances of the People, and had even the force of laws, till the Emperor Maximinus, who perceiving the abuse there was in placing these rescripts in the number of laws, abolished the use of them. Other charges only changed their names; as in the instance of the governors of the provinces of which Augustus reserved the particular administration to himself, who were called *Præfekt*s, though before that name was solely given to the governors of Italy: but Augustus judged that alteration

II. *Change of the offices.*  
Tac. l. 1.  
Dion. Cass. l. 53.  
J. Capit. in vit. Maximin.

tion proper, in order to distinguish the governors of his nomination, from those he had left to that of the Senate. He created a governor <sup>Suet. in</sup> of Rome under the name of Præfect, who was <sup>vit. Aug.</sup> no longer annual as before; and he allotted him the same ensigns of honour, with the cognizance of many affairs, of which part had formerly appertained to the Prætors.

The Emperors assumed to themselves not only the nomination of Consuls, who before were elected by the People, but also that of the Governors of the principal provinces, and of the Generals of the armies; which in the time of the Commonwealth belonged to the Senate. But Augustus, to leave a phantom of the Re- <sup>Dio Cass.</sup> public, and insensibly accustom the Roman <sup>l. 54.</sup> People to obey him, suffered them to assemble for the election of magistrates; but they could nominate only those whom that Prince proposed. After his death the Assemblies were entirely abolished; the \* People having no longer any share either in the government, or the

\* ——— Jampridem, ex quo suffragia nulli  
Vendimus, effugit curas. Nam qui dabat olim  
Imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se  
Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,  
Panem & Circenses. *Juv. Sat. X. v. 77.*

*But long, long since the times have chang'd their face,  
The people grown degenerate and base;  
Not suffer'd now the freedom of their choice  
To make their magistrates, and sell their voice.*

*Our wise forefathers, great by sea and land,  
Had once the pow'r and absolute command;  
All offices of trust themselves dispos'd;  
Rais'd whom they pleas'd, and whom they pleas'd depos'd.  
But we, who give our native rights away,  
And our enslav'd posterity betray,  
Are now reduc'd to beg an alms, and go  
On holidays to see a puppet-show.*

Dryden.

election

III. election of magistrates. Augustus gave also the name of Præfects to those who had the keeping of the public money, and who were called Tribunes before: they were much the same as the officers called in France, *Gardes du tresor Royal*. He also called those whom he instituted to take care of the provisions and markets Præfects, as he did the person whom he charged with the distributions made to the People, those who served in the army as Tribunes of the horse, and him who had the care of the encampments and fortifications. There was also a Præfect of the legions in the absence of the General. In a word, this name became common to so many officers, that they could not be distinguished, except by their different functions. But none of these offices did so much

IV. honour to this name, as that of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, created by Augustus; for so the commander of the Emperor's guards was called. At first none were chosen to fill this place, except out of the order of the Knights; but after the Emperor Macrinus, who had been invested with it himself before he attained the Empire, the Senators and persons of Consular dignity thought it an honour to possess it: and from thenceforth the power of that Præfect augmented in such a manner, that he became the second person of the Empire. This charge was not single at its beginning. Augustus created two of these officers, and there were three of them under several Emperors; at which time their authority was not so extensive as it was afterwards: for it was confined to the decision of the differences that arose amongst the soldiery. But when it became a sole command, the person who possessed it was called in to try almost all

Dio. Cass.  
l. 5.

all affairs, and became the principal magistrate for administering justice. Appeals lay from all other tribunals to his, from which there was none except to the Emperor. The title of Senator was annexed to this office, in order that he might have the title *Clarissimus, most illustrious*, as well as them; and his jurisdiction extended over all the presidents, or governors of provinces, and even over the finances: he could also make laws. To conclude, at the highest elevation of his power, he united in his own person the authority and functions of the Constable, Chancellor, and Surintendant of the finances, or Lord High Treasurer of France. It was in these times, that this officer had vicars under him, whose jurisdiction extended over a certain extent of country called a *Diocese*, which contained several principal cities. He was appointed by the Emperor, who put a sword and belt on him, which were the ensigns of his office. Herodian tells us, that Plautinus, *Præfectus Prætorio* to the Emperor Septimus Severus, never was seen without a sword by his side. After that ceremony, this officer appeared in public, in a gilt chariot, drawn by four horses abreast; and the herald, who went before, called him in the midst of acclamations the Father of the Empire. However, this ceremony was not introduced till this charge was become the first of the Empire. It subsisted till the Emperor Constantine, who abolished it, and broke the Prætorian guards, for having taken part with the tyrant Maxentius. In his place he created four others, who were called also *Præfectus Prætorio*, to whom he assigned four different parts of the Empire, of which they were governors; but only in respect to the

Lampr. in  
vit. Alex.  
Sever.

Dio Cass.  
l. 6.  
Herodian:  
l. 3.



V.  
*Roman  
 magi-  
 strates both  
 of the  
 sword and  
 robe.*

administration of justice and the finances, without any command over the armies. The functions of general and magistrate had been hitherto united in the same persons: for we may have observed, that during the whole time of the Commonwealth, and afterwards under the Emperors, those who dispensed justice were at the same time both of the sword and the robe: most of the magistrates, who exercised the function of judges in the city, having a share, in virtue of their offices, in the command of the armies; and in the same manner, such as were sent into the provinces, administered justice, and commanded troops.

Diq Cass.  
 l. 52.

The change of the government made way for new regulations. Augustus confined the liberty which the Nobility had of travelling wherever they pleased at discretion, only to Italy. He prohibited their going farther, and quitting it without a formal permission; which regulation was observed by his successors, lest the Nobility should enter into engagements with strangers, for exciting commotions in the Empire. Julius Cæsar, in re-instating monarchical government, did not assume the name, though he usurped all the authority, of King; well knowing how odious that name was to the Roman people. He contented himself with that of *Imperator*, *Emperor*, which had nothing new in it, having always been in honour during the Commonwealth: for it was the title with which the soldiers, in the first transports of their joy, saluted their general, immediately after a considerable victory: and this custom was observed not only under Augustus and Tiberius, but long after their time. For at the taking of Jerusalem, the army in their acclamations saluted Titus, in  
 the

VI.  
*Of the  
 name of  
 Emperor.*

the life of his father Vespasian, with the same title. Trajan was honoured with it near Ctesiphon for his conquests over the Parthians. Marcus Aurelius received the same honour eight times after his victories over the Dacians. To express the dignity, the custom was to place the word Emperor before the name of the Prince, and in expressing his victories, the name of the person was placed before the title *Imperator*. Appian observes, that in his time, that is to say in the reign of Trajan, the army did not decree the title of *Imperator* to the general, unless ten thousand of the enemy had been left on the field of battle. The Princes did not assume this name merely out of honour, but because it expressed their sovereign power, being derived from the word *imperare*, to command. Dio Cass. l. 60. Appian de bell. civ. l. 2.

The Empire became elective after the death of Caligula; for the soldiers of the Prætorian guard proclaimed Claudius Emperor; though the children of the Emperors, or those they adopted, generally succeeded them. It was not precisely by right of succession, but because the Emperors had either associated them in the Empire during their lives, or created them Cæsars, that is to say their successors elect, with the consent of the armies, who having force in their hands, had usurped the right of election from the Senate. It was for this reason, that the Senate always approved the choice of the armies, not finding itself strong enough to oppose it: for when they undertook to elect an Emperor, the armies never failed to nominate another out of jealousy, whom they supported by force of arms. It even often happened, that each army having elected one amongst themselves, those different Emperors

Dio Cass. l. 42.  
VII.  
The Empire become elective.  
Eutrop. l. 9.  
Suet in vit. Othom. & Vitell.

decided their competition by arms, and always at the expence of the forces of the Empire, to its very great prejudice.

The choice made by the armies fell always upon some of their leaders, whose bravery they had experienced; warriors being more apt to regard that quality, which strikes them most, than birth and political abilities. The Empire in consequence fell often into the hands of mere soldiers of fortune, who having passed through all the degrees of military life, were elected by their companions with no other merit, except that of savage valour. That was not the case when the Senate interfered in the election: it had less attention to valour than the qualities in general that suit a Prince; as appeared after Aurelian had been assassinated in the midst of his troops. The army highly regretting the fate of that Emperor, would not take the election upon themselves, as they had done till then; apprehending that their choice might fall upon some one of those who had been guilty of that Prince's death; and therefore they wrote to the Senate to elect an Emperor. But the Senate, having often experienced, that those whom it nominated were not agreeable to the soldiers, would not expose themselves to making a choice which should be rejected, and referred the nomination back to the army, who again insisted, that the Senate should charge themselves with it. The latter persisting in their refusal, an *interregnum* of six months ensued during these contests, all which time the Senate governed without any rebellion; and at length, acquiescing in the instances of the army, they nominated Tacitus, one of their own body. That wise Emperor had however no better fate, but from different motives

Herod.1.2.

Eutrop.

l. 8 & 9.

Herod.1.6.

Vopisc. in

vit. Aurel.

Herod.1.5.

Vopisc. in

vit. Tacit.

tives

tives than his predecessors Maximus and Balbinus, who were killed by the soldiers, out of hatred for their having been raised to the Empire by the Senate, and not by the armies. Herod. l. 8.

The Emperors immediately after their election, sent their images to Rome, and to the armies, in order to their being placed amongst the military ensigns. This was the usual manner of acknowledging new Princes. After having denounced their election in this manner, they did not fail to bestow largesses upon the troops, who were made to file off, in order for each soldier to receive his share of that distribution: at which time, to do honour to the new Emperor, and express their joy, they wore wreaths of lawrel on their heads. Claudius was the first who gave money to the troops. In gratitude to the Prætorian soldiers who had elected him Emperor, and taken the oath of fidelity to him, he promised each of them fifteen sesterces: it was also customary to make largesses to the People on their arrival at Rome. The Senate, immediately after the election of the Emperor, gave the title of August to his wife and daughters. Amongst the marks of honour attached to the persons of the Emperors and Empreſſes, one of the principal was to have fire carried before them in a vessel, and the *fascēs* surrounded with lawrels, to distinguish them from those of the principal magistrates. Before Marcus Aurelius, who associated his son-in-law Ælius Verus in the Empire, Rome had never seen two Augustus's. This example became common afterwards, and even seemed necessary at certain times, on account of the great extent of the Empire: but their power was undivided. Dioclesian however, in taking a colleague, judged

VIII.

*Manner of  
acknowledging the  
new Empe-  
rors.*

Herod. l. 1.  
Tacit. l. 12.

Suet. in  
vit. Claud.

Spartian.

l. 1.

Herod. l. 5.

Herod. l. 1.

2, & 7.

IX.

*Partition of  
the Empire.*



X.  
*Diadem  
 used by the  
 Emperors.*

it proper also to introduce a partition of authority ; and the same was done even in respect to the Cæsars, to whom the like jurisdiction was assigned : but they were always subordinate to the Augustus's, who nominated their principal officers, and did not wear the diadem, which was reserved solely to the Emperors, from Dioclesian's introducing the use of it, who was the first of them that assumed it. Upon certain occasions, public feasts were made at Rome in honour of the Emperors, as after some great exploit, the Prince's having been sick by way of rejoicing for his recovery, or his return from some expedition, journey, or voyage : but afterwards, flattery made these feasts very common. Tertullian, in his Apologetic, tells us in what manner these rejoicings were made. Debauch and excesses were practised publicly ; fires were lighted in the streets, and lamps before the houses where tables were spread : wine \* was spilt  
 in

\* Condit quisque diem collibus in suis,  
 Et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores.  
 Hinc ad vina redit lætus, & alteris  
 Te mensis adhibet Deum :

Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero  
 Defuso pateris ; & Laribus tuum  
 Miscet nomen, uti Græcia Castoris  
 Et magni memor Herculis.

Longas ô utinam, dux bone, ferias  
 Præstes Hesperiaë, dicimus integro  
 Sicci mane die: dicimus uvidi

Cum sol oceano subest. *Hor. L. IV. Od. v.*

*On his own hills each sees the setting sun ;  
 To widow'd elms each weds his am'rous wine :  
 And chearful when his pleasing toils are done,  
 He calls on thee, and ev'ry glass is thine.  
 With endless prayers the flowing wine we pour  
 To thee, great author of our joy and peace ;  
 In thy lov'd name each ear delighting more,  
 Than Greece in Castor's or in Hercules'.*

*Long*

in profusion for libations in honour of the Emperor's genius, or to the Gods for his prosperity. Private persons adorned their doors with \* laurel and other boughs, which was a sign of rejoicing amongst the Romans: we have already observed, that this was the custom on the day of marriage.

*Long may'st thou live, Hesperia's darling care,  
Long give her feasts, long be her blest delight!  
This is our gen'ral sober morning pray'r,  
And these our constant drunken vows at night.*

\* ————— Necte coronam  
Postibus, & densos per limina tende corymbos.  
Unus Iberinæ vir sufficit? Ocyûs illud  
Extorquebis, ut hæc oculo contenta sit uno.

*Juv. Sat. VI.*

*With ivy now adorn thy doors, and wed:  
Such is thy bride, and such thy genial bed.  
Think'st thou one man is for ore woman meant?  
She sooner with one eye would be content. Dryden.  
Ornentur postes & grandi janua lauro. Ibid.  
And with abundant laurels deck thy door.*

## BOOK THE THIRD.

*Of the revenues of the Romans ;  
the forces of the State ; and of  
war, with all relating to it.*

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## CHAPTER I.

*I. Of coins. II. Diminution of the weight of the  
species. III. Public treasury. IV. Silver mo-  
ney. V. Mixture and alteration of coins. VI.  
Great Sestertium. VII. Manner of reckoning  
sums. VIII. Of the talent.*

THE augmentation of the power of Rome, and the revolutions that happened in the government, made way for changes which it is necessary to relate. I am now to speak of the forces and revenues of the Romans, and in order to give a more distinct idea of them, it is necessary to go back to the weak beginnings of Rome, when both must have been very small. But first it is proper to know of what kind her money was.

I.  
*Of coins.*

The poverty of the first Romans did not suffer them to coin any ; they were almost two centuries without species, making use of copper in lumps, which they paid by weight. Numa, their second King, for the better conveniency,

caused

caused copper to be cut grossly into pieces of a pound consisting of twelve ounces, without any mark. They were called from that rude form, *as rudis*, and served instead of money. Their sixth King Servius Tullius changed this gross form, and for the first time caused round pieces of the same weight and value to be made, with the impression of an ox upon them. These were Plin. l. 33. called *as libralis* and *libella*, because they weighed c. 3. a pound. Letters were also added to them, to express their weight and value, which last was also in proportion to the first. The heaviest of all was the *Decussis*, which weighed, and was worth, ten *asses*; from whence it was called *Denarius*: it had an X upon it to signify its value. The *Quadrussis* was worth four; the *Tre-*  
*cussis* three; and the *Sestertius* one and an half. The last was always the fourth part of a *Denarius*, notwithstanding all the changes that were made in their coins; and to express its value, it was marked with two great I's with a cross stroke in the midst, and an S after them in this manner HS. The *Dupondius* was worth two *asses*, as the two points upon it signified. The *as* was also sub-divided into small parts, of which the names are as follow.

The *Deunx* weighed eleven ounces.

The *Dextans*, ten.

The *Dodrans*, nine.

The *Bes*, eight.

The *Septunx*, seven.

The *Semissis*, which was the half pound, six.

The *Quintunx*, five.

The *Triens*, which was the third part of an *as*, four.

The *Quadrans*, or fourth part, three.

The *Sextans*, or sixth part, two:

And



And *Uncia*, the ounce.

- II. In the first Punic war, the necessities of the Commonwealth were so great, that she was obliged to reduce the *as* from twelve to the weight of two ounces, and all the rest in proportion, though their value was continued the same. *Diminution of the weight of the species.* Plin. l. 93. c. 3. Soon after, that is to say, in the second Punic war, it was again reduced to one half in value; that is to say to one ounce, and all other species in proportion. Most of these *asses* of the weight of one ounce had the double head of a *Janus* on one side, and the prow of a ship on the other. In a word, the species, though of brass, were so little common in the beginning of the republic, that, as we have said elsewhere, the fine for failing in respect to the magistrates was paid at first in cattle. This scarcity of the species occasioned the custom of giving brass by weight in payment to subsist a great while, as Liv. l. 4. Livy relates, that in the 347th year of Rome, the Senate having laid a tax upon the public for supporting the expences of the war, caused their own proportion in the gross to be carried in waggons to the treasury, which was called *Ærarium* from the word *as æris*, brass, because there were no coins of gold or silver at Rome. *Public treasury.* It was not till the 485th year of Rome, that IV. silver money was first coined there, which they *Silver money.* named according to the species of copper, so Plin. l. 33. that the silver *Denarius* was worth ten copper c. 3. asses, the silver *Sestertius* two and an half, or the fourth of the *Denarius*, and the rest in proportion. These first silver *denarii* weighed an ounce, and the impresson on them was either a woman's head with an helmet on it, to represent the city of Rome, or a Victory leading a chariot with two or four horses a-breast, which occasioned

occasioned these pieces to be called *bigati*, or *quadrigati*, and on the reverse the figure of Castor and Pollux. Sixty-two years after they had first coined silver species, that is to say about the 547th year of Rome, they began to coin gold also, which was called *nummus aureus*, or gold *denarius*, because it was worth ten of silver, which was the most usual proportion observed by the Romans between the value of gold and silver. Smaller pieces of gold were coined under the Emperors with their heads on them. The *nummus aureus*, or gold *denarius*, was at first the fortieth part of the pound of twelve ounces; each *denarius* of gold weighing near two drachmas and an half, and eight drachmas making an ounce. But afterwards, the value of money having changed from time to time, the silver *denarius* was reduced to the proportion of fifteen to the pound of twelve ounces. It was in that proportion under Julius Cæsar; but afterwards it came to that of twenty-four, thirty-six, and forty. The *denarius* of gold continued at the proportion of forty to the pound, and was always worth ten silver *denarii*, as the latter were ten *asses* of brass. That of silver was at length reduced to fourscore and sixteen to the pound, or the weight of one *drachma*; from whence, in several places of the Roman history, the one is used for the other. The pieces of gold in time were not so heavy: they were reduced to the proportion of forty-five, fifty, and fifty-five, to the pound. It is next to impossible to follow all the variations of this kind, which were very frequent under the Emperors; some of them making their weight more, and some much less. Heliogabalus caused the weight of all the gold species to be augmented, in order

to increase certain duties paid in them. Alexander Severus, who had more goodness for the People, reduced those taxations, and caused thirds, and halves of those species to be coined. Heliogabalus had caused them to be made of so extraordinary a weight, that some were full two pounds. It is observed, that to prevent coiners from counterfeiting the species, the Romans under the Emperors coined some indented, or in a manner carved, all round the edges, which served instead of the ring used by the moderns on their money.

V. Their coins were not always either entirely silver or pure gold: from the time of the Commonwealth we find that they sometimes mingled brass with silver. The Emperor Alexander Severus caused gold to be coined, of which one fifth was silver: this mixture was called *electrum*.  
*Mixture and alteration of coins.*  
 Plin. l. 33.  
 c. 3.

Julius Cæsar was the first, who, by decree of the Senate, caused his head to be stamped on the coins. About the 225th year of the Christian Æra, pieces of gold were coined of seventy two to the pound. Many of the Emperors caused gold and silver species to be minted with their names upon them, as the *Philippi*, *Antonini*, and others. Some caused the heads of their Emperresses also to be stamped upon them. Constantine following this example, caused pieces of gold to be coined with his mother's head upon them: and after he had embraced the Christian religion, he ordered that a cross should be stamped on all the money that was made.

VI. The great *Sestertium* in the neuter, was only a term of computation, signifying a thousand small *Sestertii*, or two hundred and fifty Roman *Denarii*.  
*Great Sestertium.*

All the authors, who speak of the Roman coins, do not agree about them. For though ten to one be the most received opinion concerning the proportion of gold to silver, we find however that it varied. The manner of VII. computing amongst the Romans was either by *Manner of Sesterces* or *Asses*. They used also the term *talent*, in imitation of the Greeks, which was peculiar to the latter, and considered it sometimes VIII. as weight, and sometimes as a sum. As weight *Of the talent*. it was 125 pounds, as money it was reckoned upon the same foot as amongst the Greeks, with whom it was valued at sixty *minæ*, or six thousand *drachmas*. There were four places in Rome where money was coined, of which each had its peculiar mark to distinguish its species.

It is observed, that money was as plenty in Italy under Tiberius, as it can be at present in any part of Europe whatsoever: but that in process of time the luxury of the Romans occasioned the gold and silver to be carried back into the foreign countries, from whence their victorious arms had brought them.



## CHAPTER II.

- I. *Of the revenues of the State.* II. *Of the taxes paid by the Commonwealth.* III. *Of colonies.* IV. *Public magazines.* V. *Of journies by order of the court.* VI. *Of the rapine and oppression of governors.* VII. *Procurators of the Emperor.* VIII. *Treasury of the Emperors.*

**A**FTER having given an idea of the coins, which shews the times when the Commonwealth was more or less opulent, I proceed to the revenues of the State. The first Kings of Rome, besides their private estate, had only the product of a capitation-tax, which was the same to rich and poor, and a duty raised upon provisions carried to market, and principally upon roots and herbs, which was the most usual food of those early times: but that duty was abolished at the birth of the Commonwealth. This revenue was augmented by the salt-works, which the King Ancus Marcius caused to be made near Ostia. We have seen that after the institution of the *Census*, the children, orphans, and poor citizens of the last class payed no tax, and that the last were exempt from serving in war upon account of their poverty; and the rather because in those times the troops received no pay, and were obliged to serve at their own expence. Afterwards, in the Censorship of Camillus, even orphans were obliged to pay the capitation. The Revenues of the Commonwealth augmented in proportion as she made new conquests; for which reason it would be difficult to give a certain state of them,

no

no author supplying us with sufficient lights upon that head. It is certain that gold and silver were far from being plenty at Rome, till she extended her conquests out of Italy; on the contrary, they appear to have been exceedingly scarce, as in the year 359 from its foundation, when Camillus, after the taking of the city of Veii, where he had vowed the tenth part of the booty to Apollo, was for having that present made into a gold cup, in order to its being sent to Delphi. There being no money in the treasury except copper or brass, the State was obliged, for discharging that vow, to have recourse to the Roman ladies, who voluntarily contributed their rings and ornaments of gold, and were reimbursed the value in copper money. But after the Commonwealth had extended her conquests beyond Italy, gold began to grow common, and the public treasure augmented in such a manner, that after Paulus Æmilius had conquered Macedonia in the 586th year of Rome, the Roman people were exempted from paying the annual taxes to the State, which found itself at that time sufficiently rich to dispence with them.

Liv. l. i. & 5.

Plut. in Paul. Æmil.

Plutarch relates that Pompey caused a table to be carried in his triumph, on which was painted in large characters, that the revenues of the Commonwealth, before the conquests he had made, did not amount to more than five thousand \* myriads, or fifty millions of drachmas, and that by his victories he had augmented them to eight thousand five hundred myriads, or fourscore and five millions of drachmas, which in English money is about two millions

In vit. Pompeii.

\* A myriad is ten thousand.

one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds. But as the Roman drachma actually weighed above one third more than is supposed in this computation, (which supposes a drachma ten sols, or half a French livre, though really fifteen pence and  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a penny of their money) the whole amounted to a much larger sum. Many believe, and with much more probability, that this sum is to be taken only as the revenues paid to the Commonwealth by the principal cities of Asia, and not as her revenues in general. For adding together the tributes each of the different provinces paid in money under Augustus, there being several that paid in provisions, and reducing all those sums to their general value in Europe at this time, that Emperor will be found to have drawn from them about twenty millions sterling, which would make much too great an increase in the space of the seventy-six years, that elapsed between the triumph of Pompey celebrated in the 692d year of Rome, and the death of Augustus, which happened in the 768th. Thus the sum set down in Pompey's triumph, was only part of the revenues of the Commonwealth, that is to say, those of Asia.

II.  
Of the  
taxes of  
the Commonwealth  
Plut. in  
M Caton.

The taxes of the Commonwealth were of a different sort; for besides the capitation, each person paid one in proportion to their whole estate, of which the estimation was made by the Censors. It is observed that Marcus Cato, during his Censorship, having found that the citizens carried luxury too far, he caused a very high estimate to be made of all their moveables, and decreed, that three *asses* should be paid for every thousand of their value. The tribute, which the Romans most commonly imposed upon

upon the provinces they had subjected, was the capitation ; as Tacitus tells us, they did on the Tacit l. 1. Gauls. Cicero in his Oration, *Pro lege Manilia*, mentions three kinds of imposts, which he calls *Portoria*, *Decumæ*, & *Scripturæ*. The first included the duties laid upon merchandise brought into the ports of Italy : the second was the tenth of the fruits of the earth, which was levied in kind on certain provinces ; and the third was the rents paid by those who held the conquered lands, which had been annexed to the domains of the Commonwealth. To conceive the nature of the two last imposts, we must consider, that Rome from its beginning made it a maxim to annex part of the territories of the conquered people to her own, and to send colonies composed of her poorer citizens into them ; III. Of colonies. which she did out of policy, to discharge the State, to enrich the Commonwealth and her citizens, and reduce the power of the People newly subjected to her obedience, and thereby deprive them of the means of revolting. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 2. Appianus Alexandrinus informs us, that the cultivated lands were either divided amongst the inhabitants of these colonies ; sold for the benefit of the Commonwealth ; or farmed out. The uncultivated lands were cried, and given to the first that would undertake to clear them ; upon condition of paying annually the fifth part of the product of trees, and the tenth of corn, besides a tax upon great and small cattle. And these two species of revenue formed what they called *Decumæ* and *Scripturæ*. In this manner Rome at the same time found means to subsist her poorer citizens, whom she sent into the colonies, and not to ruin the natives of those countries entirely, who paying the above rents



Appian.  
de Bell.  
Civil. l. 1.

Ibid.

were permitted to cultivate their lands, and still found enough for their support. For in those times the people of Italy were esteemed to be very laborious ; but the abuse made afterwards of these regulations, became very pernicious to the State. The most powerful citizens under various pretexts appropriated most of these conquered lands, and either caused them to be adjudged to themselves at little or no price, or took them under borrowed names paying the *Census*. In this manner they deprived the poor citizens of them, to whom good policy had at first allotted them for their support, which occasioned frequent and great divisions in the Commonwealth. They afterwards secured the possession of them to themselves by long prescription, which served them instead of a title ; and to aggrandize themselves, they added to them the lands of their neighbours, to whom poverty, and usury paid for debts contracted for their subsistence, reduced to the necessity of selling them at such prices as they could get. They often, even without waiting these extremities, deprived the unfortunate poor of lands contiguous to their own, and thereby augmented their estates to a vast extent. In order to improve them, they employed slaves, that the free citizens might not be obliged to quit the profession of arms ; so that the country was full of slaves, who multiplied the more, as they were not obliged to serve in war, whilst very few of the Italian natives remained in it : and the few that did, being forced to be almost always with the army, and to pay considerable taxations, were reduced to great misery. This diminished the forces of the Commonwealth, which relied more upon the troops of the allies, composed

I solely

solely of Italians, than upon others. To re-<sup>Appian. de</sup>  
 medy these inconveniences, the Tribunes of the <sup>Bell. Civ.</sup>  
 People passed a law, by which it was prohibited <sup>l. 1.</sup>  
 for any one person to have more than five hun-  
 dred acres of land, one hundred great, and  
 five hundred small cattle : the overplus of what <sup>Vell. Pat.</sup>  
 each possessed, according to this law, was to be <sup>l. 2. c. 2.</sup>  
 equally distributed amongst the poor citizens.  
 This shews, that the first riches of the Romans  
 consisted in lands, cattle, and slaves. Tiberius  
 Gracchus being Tribune of the People, under-  
 took to cause this law to be put in execution ;  
 which only excited greater troubles in the Com-  
 monwealth : for as often as the Tribunes of the  
 People demanded the restitution of these lands,  
 and the execution of the *Agrarian* law, by  
 which the distribution of them for the subsist-  
 ance of the poorer citizens had been ordained,  
 discord arose between the People, and the No-  
 bility who were in possession of the greatest part  
 of these lands. The riches of particulars began  
 by these usurpations ; which usury, and oppres-  
 sing the provinces, rendered at length so prodi-  
 gious as they became before the fall of the Com-  
 monwealth.

Besides these imposts, there was also the pro-<sup>Plin. l. 3.</sup>  
 duct of the gold, silver, and lead mines in <sup>& 33. c.</sup>  
 Spain and elsewhere ; and from the 397th year <sup>3 & 4.</sup>  
 of Rome, the twentieth part of what slaves  
 made free were worth. Under the Emperor <sup>Tac. l. 13</sup>  
 Tiberius this was a twenty-fifth ; one *per cent.*  
 being then also paid for goods sold voluntarily,  
 and two for those sold by auction. Augustus <sup>Suet. in</sup>  
 exacted a twentieth of inheritances in the col- <sup>vit. Aug.</sup>  
 lateral line, and ordained that in the will of  
 every person of fortune, there should be a le-  
 gacy for the Emperor ; without which it could

not be executed. This ordinance subsisted till the reign of Antoninus Pius, who abolished it. All these together formed a casual revenue, which amounted to very considerable sums, exclusively of the tributes of the provinces, and the duties which some of them paid in kind, as Sicily and Sardinia, upon which the tenth of all grain was levied. Cicero, as we have already observed, mentions this last tribute under the name of *Decumæ*. The other provinces, instead of a tenth, paid a twentieth or a fortieth of wheat and barley, and a twentieth of wine and bacon. After the Frisii were subjected to the empire, they were made to pay a certain quantity of ox-hides by way of tribute, which were applied to the use of the armies. There was also Fiscal or Revenue corn, so called, because it was a part of the demesns of the Commonwealth. This grain was carried to the public magazines, erected at Rome by way of precaution against scarcity, and to perpetuate plenty in it. The greatest part of it came from Africa, the coasts of Barbary, and Egypt. The hundredth part of the grain, and the two hundredth of the other fruits of the earth, were levied in Cappadocia. These tributes in kind served in consequence to fill the public magazines of Rome, and for the subsistence of the armies. Besides this a toll, or custom, was paid in some places by certain merchandizes, as well as in the ports of Italy. The salt, which the people were obliged to buy of those who farmed it, was also part of the revenues of the State. These were the usual imposts : but the Emperors sometimes exacted others ; as that Vespasian laid upon Urine, and many more. The journies and

Tac. l. 4.

IV.  
Public ma-  
gazines.

Dio. Cass.  
l. 60.

and voyages undertaken by order of the court may be considered as another kind of taxation; for when the Emperor, his ministers, or the governors of provinces, caused any one to come from, or sent persons to, remote places, they gave such travellers an order to have their charges born, and carriages provided for them upon their route, which was done at the expences of the cities and places through which they passed. But the Emperor Adrian ordained, that for the future that expence should be defrayed out of the public treasury. Almost all these imposts were farmed out; so that there were farmers and their substitutes, who enriched themselves by making the most of, and extending, their power as far as possible, not to mention the enormous oppressions committed by the governors; as appears from Cicero's pleadings against Verres. The latter exacted from Sicily, of which he was governor, a thousand times an hundred thousand sesterces, over and above the customary tributes. These extortions were frequent enough about an hundred years before the end of the Commonwealth; from whence arose the immense riches of some particulars. When the younger Gracchus was Tribune of the People, he deprived the Senators of the right to take cognizance of the malversations and oppressions of the persons in office, and transferred it to the Equestrian order. Those things were become so common, that they were scarce regarded any longer as crimes; governors being almost sure of impunity, because their judges, as well as themselves, were the principal persons of the Commonwealth, who acted with great favour and reserve in respect to each other. The accusations in consequence,

V.

*Of journeyes by order of the court.*

Spart. in vit. Adri.

VI.

*Rapine and oppression of governors.*

Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 1.

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 13.



Tac. l. 3.  
c. 12.

brought against them by the provinces, often either came to nothing, or were attended with infinite trouble and difficulty. The State however did not fail sometimes to condemn those public robbers to make heavy retributions; but always for the benefit of the Commonwealth, and not of the provinces they had plundered.

VII.  
*Procurators of the Emperor.*  
Dio. Cass.  
l. 57.

Under the Emperors the governors could not enrich themselves so easily at the expence of their provinces, being prevented by the officers called the Emperor's procurators, who had an eye upon their conduct, and whose functions were much the same as those of the officers called in France *Intendants de province*. It is observed, that till the civil war between Marius and Sylla, the tributes laid upon the provinces were moderate enough, and that they had not experienced those enormous extortions before, which they suffered immediately after from the governors. Cicero in his oration *Pro lege Manilia* shews, that they were also exposed to the avarice of the generals of armies, who carried off whatever was most valuable and curious in the provinces, besides exacting considerable sums from them. But these were not the only evils they had to suffer. The civil wars of the Commonwealth exposed them to the insatiable avidity of the strongest, who, under pretence that they had favoured their enemy, laid considerable fines upon them, to satisfy which they were often obliged to borrow money at interest; and that completed their ruin, as happened to the provinces of Asia minor, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius by Mark Antony. For the latter, who was naturally little humane, and very insolent in prosperity, pretended, that they had taken part with

with his enemy, in order to fine them the value of nine years of the usual tribute paid the Commonwealth; and as they were not able to raise it, the tax-farmers, who advanced the money, exacted such usury for it, as exceeded the capital, and reduced them to extreme misery. The imposts under the Emperors were either more or less, according to their characters: the good moderated, and the bad augmented, them: but the provinces of Italy were always the most spared.

All the sums that arose from the imposts, spoils, and conquests, gained by Rome from her enemies, were carried into the public treasury. In the time of the Commonwealth, a twentieth part of them in gold, as they came in, was set aside, and reserved for times of urgent necessity. This became the custom from the burning of Rome by the Gauls; which precaution seemed necessary at first for enabling her to defend herself against that warlike nation, that she apprehended more than any other. The gold not coined, before it was carried in to the treasury, was melted into little square bars, which were piled up one above another.

Besides the public treasury, the Emperors had one peculiar to themselves, which was their exchequer, and into which the money arising from confiscations, fines, legacies, the presents made them when they came to the empire, and at the time of their adoption, new-years gifts, and lastly the *aurum coronarium*, which Italy, and the other provinces remitted from time to time, so called, because that voluntary gift consisted at first in crowns of gold, which in process of time was changed into a certain

Vell. Pat.  
l. 2. c. 37.  
Plut. in  
vit. Pomp.

Plin l. 33.

c. 3.

VIII.

Treasury  
of the Em-  
perors.

Tac. l. 5.

Suet in  
vit. Vesp.

Spart. in  
vit. ADr.

quantity of gold. This gift was renewed at the election of every Emperor, on each adoption of a successor, on the occasion of his marriage, or the birth of his children, and sometimes on his return from some voyage or enterprise. Their exchequer was more or less considerable, as the Emperors were more or less avaricious, who did not want means for augmenting it, though they were also masters of the public treasury whenever they thought fit.

This particular detail of the revenues of the Roman People may serve to give us some idea of their forces: however as different writers have given us sufficiently circumstantial accounts of them, it will not be improper to repeat them to the reader.

## CHAPTER III.

- I. *Of the forces of the State.* II. *Of its naval forces.* III. *Of the manner of fighting at sea.* IV. *Manner of making the levies.* V. *Of the Roman legions.* VI. *Number of cohorts in a legion.* VII. *Of the ensigns of the legions.* VIII. *Honours paid the ensigns.*

THE forces of Romulus consisted at first of three thousand foot and three hundred horse. He soon augmented them considerably, having increased his people from the neighbouring cities, whose inhabitants he incorporated with the Romans, as he subjected them; so that some time before his death, he took the field with twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horse. In the 260th year from the foundation of Rome, the Commonwealth had ten legions, each consisting of four thousand men, which was the greatest number of troops she had ever set on foot. For in the beginning of the Commonwealth, they usually consisted of four legions, of which each Consul commanded two, without including the troops of the allies, who supplied as many. In the second Punic war, she had to the number of three and twenty legions on foot; and in Sylla's time forty-seven, though the legion at that time consisted of six thousand men: but the greatest number of all did not appear till the triumvirate of M. Antony, Octavius and Lepidus, when they amounted to sixty-six. After Augustus had established the peace of the empire,



pire, he kept only three and twenty legions on foot, which he distributed upon the frontiers. Tiberius had five and twenty, exclusively of the cohorts, which always remained at Rome for the security of the public, the nine Prætorian cohorts or the Emperors guards, and the auxiliary troops, which were equal in number to those of the State ; for care was taken, that they should not exceed that of the legions. It was not till after Constantine, that this policy was disused ; the Emperors having armies almost entirely composed of Barbarians, who did not a little contribute to the ruin of the empire. This rule was always followed in the time of the Consuls, but only in respect to the infantry ; for it is observed, that at the battle of Cannæ, the auxiliary horse was twice as strong as that of the Romans. The Emperor Adrian kept thirty legions on foot, besides the auxiliaries, who were of the same number. Without reckoning the latter, he had two hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse, all Romans ; three hundred elephants, and two thousand armed chariots, the whole kept up as well in peace as war, with magazines of all sorts of arms for three hundred thousand men. As to sea-forces, we do not find that the Romans had any naval army, before the first Punic war, that is to say, about the 490th year of Rome. They however distinguished their ability and bravery as much by sea as land : for they were victorious in their first battle by sea with the Carthaginians, who were then the most expert of all nations in naval affairs. This first fleet was composed of an hundred and twenty galleys, of which an hundred were of five, and the rest of three, benches or tire of oars. Soon after

II.  
*Of the  
naval  
forces.*

I iv. l. i.

after in the same war they fitted out three hundred and thirty beaked galleys, each carrying three hundred rowers, and an hundred and twenty soldiers. By this account, which we have from Polybius, the bigness of those vessels may be judged. The citing of some facts Liv. l. 1. will suffice to shew, what maritime forces they had. Pompey in the civil war had to the number of six hundred ships, either galleys or light barks. M. Antony, at the battle of Actium against Augustus, had a navy consisting of five hundred ships, amongst which were some that had eight and ten tire of oars. After the civil Tac. l. 4. wars, Augustus kept up three naval armies in Italy ; the one at the port of Misenum in the kingdom of Naples, another at Ravenna in the Adriatic gulph, and the third at Frejus on the coast of Provence. The Emperor Adrian had to the number of two thousand light vessels, and fifteen hundred ships or galleys from three to five benches of oars. All the ships of the Romans, fit for war, were a kind of galleys, or galeasses, because they were worked with oars. Their form came nearer to that of a modern French galley, than of a ship ; having all beaks of brass, or bronze, as galleys have ; for which reason the words, galleys and ships, when used by antient authors, may be considered as synonymous terms. These ships of war were long, had but \* one mast like French galleys, and consequently much less rigging

\* ——— Tunc adversis urgentibus illuc  
Recidit, ut malum ferro summitteret. ———

*Juv. Sat XII.*

*So fierce the storm, necessity at last  
Does loudly call to ease her of her mast.*

Dryd.

than

than modern ships. Though they had sails, they were rather to be worked with oars, which accordingly were more commonly used. Some of them were open, that is to say without decks, and had only one row of oars on each side: these were called light-barks, because much swifter than the rest. Those which had several decks, had also several benches, or tire of oars one above another, but chequer-wise, not to interfere with each other: however that is only conjecture, there being no certainty upon this head. The most common ships had two, three, four and five benches, for there were some that had ten, and even forty: but this was not amongst the Romans, who were too wise to build such vessels, which from their extraordinary magnitude were of no other use, but to gratify a frivolous curiosity. Augustus used none in his naval armies, that had above three rows of oars; and probably, in process of time, those were discovered not to be so good, as such as had only one; because the latter were worked with more expedition, and less trouble. For the historian Zosimus tells us, that the use of them was entirely discontinued, long before the reign of the Emperor Theodosius the younger. We have nothing but very uncertain conjectures upon the manner of working a vessel with three tire of oars, which being dipt in and raised out of the water all at the same time, must have clashed, one would think, with each other. And it is still less easy to conceive the manner of working such, as had more benches of oars, as ten, twenty, and even forty. In short, the most experienced in naval affairs of these days confess their ignorance upon this subject.

Each

Each ship had its peculiar name, as is still the custom. They had also their military ensigns and colours, and used trumpets, as land-forces, for instruments of war.

When they were to engage, they erected wooden towers on their decks, which were easily raised, and taken down after the action: from these they discharged stones and darts with advantage upon the enemy. They also made use of machines, as of the *balista*, a kind of great cross-bow, which were planted in several parts of the ship, and discharged stones of considerable size, and fire-darts. These last were great arrows, prepared with pitch and other combustible matter, which being lighted, set ships on fire. Their manner of fighting was either to take the vessel, they attacked, in flank, in order that the violent stroke of the beak might pierce and sink it, or by running alongside very near it to break the oars, or to grapple it with hooks and grapplings in order to board it. The sea-service was not in so much esteem amongst the Romans as the land-service: for which reason the freedmen were admitted into it, long before they were permitted to serve by land. The vessels of burthen, or merchant-ships, which were called *round*, because really not so long as the others, and had larger flanks, in order to contain the more goods, were worked also both with oars and sails: but the latter were most used, to avoid the charge of rowers, which would have rendered the crews more numerous, and consequently more expensive to traders.

As they had not the use of the compass, they steered in the night by the stars, and in the day by the coasts and islands which they knew, and which

III.

Of the manner of fighting by sea.

Polyb. l. 16.

Ibid. l. 1.



which guided the pilots : for in the Mediterranean, that was the only sea then navigated, they could not be long without discovering some land ; and they knew no other navigation upon the Ocean, except along the coasts. They had anchors for stopping ships, and the lead for sounding : but they were not sufficiently expert in navigation, to expose themselves to stormy weather. When they were surprized by a tempest, they made to land in order to run ashore ; and did the same, when too closely pursued by an enemy of superior force. When the danger was over, they set the ship afloat again by strength of arms and leavers ; which shews, that if the antients knew useful things in respect to the Arts, that are not come down to us, we have discovered others, which they had not, and which are no less useful. The Romans did not begin to be expert in naval affairs, till some time after they had extended their conquests out of Italy : for Appian observes, that they had very little skill, when they fought their first battle by sea with the army of Antiochus, commanded by Polixenides.

Appian.de  
Bell. Syr.

IV. Either the Consuls or the Dictator generally made the levies of the troops. They appointed the day for listing, either by a decree fixed up, or by heralds, according to the necessity of the case. At the same time the standard of war was hoisted upon the top of the Capitol, which, during a great length of time, was the place where the levies were made, unless some opposition was apprehended from the Tribunes of the People, and then it was in the field of Mars, which being without the walls of the city, was not in the jurisdiction of those magistrates. In process of time the levies were usually made in the

*Manner of  
making the  
levies.*  
Polyb.l. 6.

the field of Mars : and when the Common-Tac. l. 4.  
wealth had extended its conquests out of Italy,  
they were made by the Proconsuls, Prætors,  
and other principal officers in the provinces.  
All the young persons capable of bearing arms,  
were obliged to be present in the place, and on  
the day assigned, upon pain of a fine. To  
fail in this respect, was long criminal during the  
Commonwealth. There were however con-  
junctures, when it was dispenced with ; as the  
funeral of a near relation, and certain religious  
ceremonies, at which the absent were obliged  
to assist. For none were exempt from serving  
in the armies, except such as had particular ex-  
emptions from the Senate, were lame, subject  
to the falling sickness, had not attained the age  
of seventeen, or were turned of forty-six ; at  
which years those who were actually in the  
service might quit it. The priesthood were also  
dispenced with from serving : however neither  
they, nor those whose age exceeded the time  
prescribed were exempt, in case of a war with  
the Gauls, so terrible did that nation appear to  
the Romans. During a great length of time, Dion. Hal.  
those, who were only entered by name in the l. 4. c. 5.  
*Census*, because they had no fortunes, were not  
admitted into the Roman soldiery ; and for the  
same reason they had no voice in the elections.  
These were the citizens of the sixth class : but  
Marius abolished this custom ; and afterwards  
those whose whole fortunes were their arms, to  
use the expression of Valerius Maximus who Val. Max.  
relates this circumstance, were received into the l. 2. c. 3.  
troops. The officers, who made the levies,  
chose the soldiers ; whence the legions were  
so called from the Latin word *legere*, to Polyb. l 6.  
*choose*, and the levy was called *delectus*, choice.

No soldier was admitted under the height of five Roman feet and ten inches, except in an extreme want of troops, which would not admit of chusing. It is observed, that the men of the first cohorts of each legion were not under six feet high, which amounts to about five feet, nine inches and an half, and almost  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch of our measure; the Roman foot being eleven inches and six hundred and four decimal parts of an inch English, and eleven inches French.

On the day fixed, the citizens of the age to bear arms assembled, either at the Capitol, or in the field of Mars, and the Consuls nominated the Tribunes of the legions. Those who were to command in the foot must have served ten years, and in the cavalry five. About the 390th year of Rome, the Consuls and generals were divested of the right of appointing the Tribunes of the legions, which the People assumed to themselves. If four legions were raised, the Tribunes nominated divided themselves into four equal bands, according to the order in which they were elected. Those who were first appointed were for the first legion, and so on with the rest. The Tribunes, after having drawn the tribe with which they were to begin by lot, fate down, and chose out of it four young men of much the same age and height, of whom each of the four legions had one. They went on in the same manner, till the four legions were compleated; in order that they might all be of equal force. Those who refused to give in their names for the service, were sentenced to be whipt; their estates were sold; and themselves considered as slaves. After having listed them in this manner, they were not deemed soldiers,

till

Liv. 1. 7.  
Polyb. 1. 6.

Ibid.

till they had taken the military oath ; which they were made to do the same instant. In or-  
 der to that, the Tribunes of each legion chose Polyb. l.6.  
 out a soldier, who repeated the oath aloud, of which the tenor was to promise to hazard his life for the Commonwealth, to obey his general, and not to quit the army without leave. In pronouncing it he held up his right hand and the thumb of the same hand ; after which all the rest of the soldiers of each legion declared, that they swore the same thing, but without repeating the form : and this was the general oath. The Tribunes made the soldiers, and all that Ibid.  
 followed the camp, take another something particular : this was not to take any thing that was not their own, and to bring whatever they found to the Tribunes. Plutarch tells us, that amongst Quæst.  
 the Romans those who were in the army were Rom. 39,  
 not allowed to strike or kill the enemy, if they had not taken the military oath, or had been dismissed the service by their officer. But to re- V.  
 turn to the legions : they were composed of in- Of the  
 fantry and cavalry, of which the number diffe- Roman le-  
 red much at different times. For the legion at gions.  
 first consisted of only three thousand foot and Plut. in  
 three hundred horse. Under the Consuls it was vit. Rom.  
 four thousand foot, and three hundred horse, at Polyb. l.2.  
 which number it long continued fixed. It was & 6.  
 afterwards composed of more or less troops, according to the occasions of the Commonwealth. It varied also under the Emperors. In the time of Augustus it consisted of six thousand one hundred foot, and seven hundred and twenty-six horse : under Tiberius, it was composed of six thousand foot, and six hundred horse : under the Emperor Septimus Severus, a phalanx or square battalion of thirty thousand men,  
 R consisting



consisting of six legions, was formed in imitation of the Macedonians ; which shews that the legion then was only five thousand men : but under the succeeding Emperors, it became stronger. In consequence, to know the strength of the Roman armies, it does not suffice to reckon the number of the legions : but, upon what foot each legion was at that time, must also be found. Though the legions were called Roman, they were not all composed of citizens immediately inhabiting the city and territory of Rome, as had been the custom from the beginning, and even after the destruction of Carthage : but they also consisted of soldiers of all the cities of Italy, to which in succession of time the freedom of Rome had been granted.

VI. The legion was composed of ten cohorts or  
*Number of cohorts in a legion.* Polyb. l. 6. regiments, strong in proportion to the legion. For if it consisted of only five thousand men, the cohort was but five hundred. These ten cohorts formed as many battalions, which drew up in three lines. Each cohort was composed of three *manipuli* or companies, divided into two Centuries, each of an hundred men, when the legion was six thousand strong. The Century was sub-divided into *Decuriæ* or tenths, because every ten men had a tent. However, Ælian shews, that we should not always understand the word *decuria* literally and only for ten ; and that the *decuria*, which he also calls little manipule, was composed of more than ten soldiers. The same Ælian seems also to make the cohort consist only of two maniples, of more in number ; which might be in his time, that is to say, under the Emperor Adrian. For the regulations of this kind were not always the same,

same, though the legion in all times consisted of ten cohorts.

As to the cavalry, it was above the infantry. It was the custom in the beginning of the Commonwealth to chuse the horse last: but Polybius informs us, that in his time they were Polyb. 1. 6. the first formed into companies. The Censors chose such as were richest to serve in the cavalry; and when they had no horses, they might serve in the foot. The case was not the same with respect to the Knights, whom the Commonwealth supplied every year with a sum of money to purchase and keep an horse: because in effect of the sum they received, they were not deemed dismounted at any time, and consequently could not serve in the foot. The cavalry were called *alæ*, the wings, because they always formed the wings of the legion. They were more or less strong, in proportion to the strength of the legions; of which, as each was Ibid. composed of ten cohorts, so the cavalry were divided into ten *alæ*. The *alæ* were sub-divided into companies of two and thirty men, and the companies again into *Decuriæ*.

The legion was commanded by one of the Consul's Lieutenants, or a Lieutenant-general, that had an officer under him called *Præfectus*, who acted as judge of that body of troops. Next to him were the great Tribunes, each of whom commanded two cohorts; and each cohort was under the command of an inferior Tribune, to whom it belonged, with the *Præfect's* authority, to cause such of the soldiers of his cohort as had committed any fault to be punished. The *Præfect* had also the care of the arms, horses, cloaths, provisions, and discipline, both of the cavalry and foot. Each manipule, Ibid.

Montfauc.  
Antiq.

Polyb. 1.6.

or company, had at the head of it an officer called *Ducenarius*, because he generally commanded two hundred men ; as he who commanded a century, or an hundred men, was called a Centurion. The Tribunes elected their Centurions, and the latter their Lieutenants called *Succenturiones* or *Optiones*. We find, that there were also *Sub-optiones*, or Sub-lieutenants. Polybius does not mention these *Succenturiones* or *Optiones* ; but he says, that in each century there were two officers under the Centurions, who were called *Tergiductores*, because their post was in the rear of the company, which is the same given to these *Optiones* ; and that the officers were double, there being two Centurions to a century, of which one was as second. But the latter was only a kind of Lieutenant, because he had no share in deliberations. These second officers were perhaps called *Succenturiones* and *Optiones* in process of time. We ought not to be surprized, if authors do not always agree concerning these things, and if they sometimes seem contrary to antient monuments. Customs were not always the same ; and authors wrote either before or after those monuments were erected ; so that the silence of writers, or their contradictions to those monuments, are not to be judged decisive reasons : the difference of times ought to be considered in such cases. Every Centurion chose two Standard-bearers, called *Vexillarii*, for his century ; in order that the one might be ready to supply the place of the other. The strongest and most courageous soldiers were chosen for this office. The Centurions formed the first rank of the first cohort of a legion, of whom two were called *Primi Hastati*, as another Centurion was *Primus Princeps*, from being the first

first of the second line of the troops called *Principes*; and the first of the soldiers of the third line, called *Pilani*, was also a Centurion, who was termed *Primipilus*, and was also the principal Centurion of the whole legion. He was admitted into the councils of war, to which the Tribunes were summoned: he received orders from the General or the Tribunes, carried them after to others, and made the troops march or halt according to the orders he received. He conducted the eagle, had it in his keeping, and defended it in battle. When the army was to march, it was he who pulled that ensign up, and gave it to the Standard-bearer. All the Centurions carried long staves of vine-branches in their hands, which they used for chastising the soldiers; and that was the mark of their office. Though Polybius tells us, that only the first Centurion of the first cohort carried a staff of that kind, we find in other authors, that all the Centurions had the same distinction; which custom was probably introduced after Polybius wrote. The Centurions rose by degrees, so that the last Centurion of a legion might attain to be the first by right of seniority. As to the legions supplied by the allies, those who commanded them were called *Præfects*, and were nominated by the Consuls or Generals of the armies. Each legion had for its general ensign, an eagle with its wings extended, holding a thunderbolt in its talons. It was placed upon a small pedestal of the same metal on the top of a pike. This figure was either of gold or silver, of the bigness of a pigeon. The officer that carried it was called the *Eagle-bearer*. This ensign, as we have just said, was in the keeping of the first Centurion of the legion, and in time

Polyb. l. 6.

VII.

*Ensigns of  
the legions.*



Liv. l. 3. of peace the legions, who were not encamped upon the frontiers, deposited them in the public treasury, which was in the temple of Saturn.

When the armies were encamped, the eagles were planted in the front of the tribunal, which was always at the general's tent. In the time of the Emperors, there were other officers called *Image-bearers*, from carrying the portrait of the Emperor in the form of a great medal on the top of a pike, in the same manner as the eagle. The staff of this ensign was generally so laden with ornaments of the same metal, that a very strong man could scarce carry it. The army had so great a veneration for these ensigns, that they never passed by them without saluting them.

VIII.  
*Honours  
paid the  
ensigns.*

Herod. l. 4. The soldiers swore by them, when they would certify any thing. The spoils and prisoners of war were placed with them, as in an assured

Veget. l. 2. c. 10. asylum. The officers and soldiers of the legions deposited their money where the eagles were planted, and the *Eagle-bearer* had the care of it.

Suet. in  
vit. Domit. The Emperor Domitian prohibited the depositing above a thousand crowns there, because he ascribed the revolt of Lucius Antonius to the ease he found in disposing of considerable sums that were in the keeping of *Eagle-bearers* of the legions under his command. When the army had gained a victory, and on public festivals, the Roman eagles, and the ensigns with the Emperor's head upon them, were adorned with flowers and laurels, and the most exquisite perfumes were burnt before them.

Constantine, after having renounced Paganism, knowing that these extraordinary honours suited only the Divinity, caused the cross to be planted upon the top of the standards, and to be embroidered upon his own, which was that

of the general, called in Latin *Labarum*. It was of purple with a gold fringe round it, and resembled a small banner: it was affixed to the top of a pike, and never planted but when the Emperor was with the army.

In the first times of Rome, the ensigns of her armies were only a bundle of grass or hay fastened to the end of a pole, which was called in Latin *Manipulus fœni*, and occasioned the name of *Maniple* to be given the companies that followed these ensigns. When they were laid aside, the companies still retained the same name, and those they afterwards took, were the wolf, the minotaur, the horse, the boar, and the eagle. According to Pliny, it was the Consul Marius who chose the eagle alone for the principal ensign of each legion: for besides the eagle, each cohort had its own in the form of little banners of purple, in which dragons were painted. Every maniple and century had also theirs of the same colour, upon which were letters denoting the century, cohort, and legion.

Varr. l. 5.  
Ovid. Fast.  
l. 3.

Plin. l. 10.

## CHAPTER IV.

- I. Of the cavalry. II. Of the military instruments of music. III. Of the cuirasses of the Romans. IV. Arms of the horse. V. Of the Fencing-masters to the armies. VI. Of the Prætorian soldiers. VII. Of the pay of the Prætorian soldiers. VIII. Of the time that the soldiers were obliged to serve. IX. Of lifting the soldiers.

I. *Of the cavalry.* **A**S to the cavalry of each legion, it was divided, as we have already said, into ten *alæ*, the same number as the cohorts. Each *ala* had three captains, who chose three horsemen, who were called, as in the foot, *Tergidutores*, and served them as lieutenants. The first of these three captains commanded the *ala*, and was called *Præfectus*. He ranked above the minor Tribunes or colonels of foot. The other two were called *Decuriones*, and in the absence of the Præfect, the first of them commanded the *ala*. Each *Decurio* had two and thirty men under him. The cavalry had also colours and standards, which were made like the ensigns of the foot, with this difference, that they were blue, and in the form of streamers.

II. *Of the military instruments of music.* **A**S to their military instruments, the Romans had three sorts; trumpets, which were strait, and with which the charge and retreat were sounded; the *buccinæ*, which were turned round like the French horn, and used in the general's presence for giving the signal of battle, or for the punishment of some soldier; and the cornet, which was only the horn of the wild ox tipt with silver, which was sounded to signify the

the command to the ensigns, because its sound was heard a great way ; kettle-drums and the common drum not being used at that time in their armies. The legions were distinguished according to the order in which they were raised ; as the first, second, third, and so on. They had also epithets, which were given them on account of some signal action, as *Fulminans*, *Macedonica*, *Parthica*. A legion was composed of four sorts of soldiers exclusively of the horse ; the *Velites*, *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, which were distributed according to their years. The youngest and poorest formed the *Velites* ; their Polyb 1. 6. pay was also less than that of the other soldiers. These were the light-armed troops, who were called also *Antesignani*, because they were posted before the ensigns in the front ranks, and began the battle. Their defensive arms were a little round buckler of a foot and an half in diameter. They had a kind of little helmet made of strong leather, covered with the skin of some wild beast, as the wolf, &c. but no other armour, in order to their being more active and instant in their motions. Their offensive arms were the sword, a javelin, of which the wood was about Ibid. the thickness of an inch, and three feet in length, with a point nine inches long, but so small, that it could not be returned with effect against the side from whence it was discharged. Some of the *Velites* were armed with slings, which they used only in skirmishing ; and they were per-Liv. 1. 8. mitted to fly, not having any defensive arms for coming to blows with the enemy. They were posted at first in the rear of the army, and from thence advanced to the front ranks. Sometimes they were placed in the intervals of the first line, from whence they skirmished between the two armies,



armies, and when the charge began, they retired behind the line, and there discharged their darts or stones with a sling, over the heads of the troops in front, which they could do with the greater facility, as those front ranks were of no great depth. Before the institution of the *Velites*, the first line of the legion acted as light-armed foot, and for that purpose fought by platoons. The *Velites* were generally used for accompanying the horse upon hasty expeditions. This kind of foldiers were not instituted till the second Punic war : they were equally distributed amongst the troops, and had no particular commander. According to Livy, there were twenty in each maniple, which made sixty to a cohort, and six hundred to a legion, when it consisted of six thousand men. Before the *Velites*, the troops which formed the light-armed infantry were called *Rorarii* and *Accensi*. The *Velites* were laid aside, when the freedom of Rome was granted to all Italy, and a different kind of infantry substituted to them, which were employed however in the same operations, and consisted of slingers and such as discharged the javelin with their hands. Those who were older than the *Velites*, were called *Hastati*, or heavy-armed foot : for they wore helmets of brass, upon the crest of which was a plume of three red or black feathers, a foot and an half high. Their bodies were also covered either with a coat of mail, or with a cuirass of brass or steel, made with scales like those of a fish, and so artificially put together, that it gave way with all the motions of the body. Their thighs and arms to the elbow were covered in the same manner, and the fore-part of the leg was armed with a kind of buskins of strong leather.

Dion Caff.  
l. 60.

Liv. l. 8.

leather. Polybius tells us, that those who were Polyb. l. 6. not worth above seventy-five pounds, wore only a brass breast-plate of twelve inches square which served them instead of a cuirass. But in process of time they were armed like the rest. Besides this armour, they had a buckler of four feet long and two and an half broad ; which the same author describes very particularly. He says it was composed of two pieces of very light wood, poplar or willow, glued together with ox-glue, covered with a coarse cloth glued also, and over all a calf-skin. The sides of it were plated with iron, as well as the middle, which was raised in a round form, for turning aside and sustaining the most violent blows of stones and darts. Their offensive arms were the Spanish two edged sword, to use the terms of Polyb. l. 3. Polybius, equally proper for cutting or thrusting. The blade of it was strong quite from the point. They wore this sword in a belt on the right side, and a dagger on the left with two missive weapons, of which the one was a javelin, and the other a dart stronger than the javelin, called *Hasta*, from which these troops took the name of *Hastati* ; for this word *Hasta* cannot be explained by any other than the general name of this kind of weapon, which was a dart that was discharged, and not a pike or spear. The wood of this kind of dart was square, as well as the iron, which was of the same length as the wood, and sharp only at the point. Appian makes this difference between the dart and the javelin ; which latter was, as we have seen, lighter and much weaker, though both were discharged with the hand. After the *Hastati* came the line of the troops called the *Principes*, heavy-armed as well as the former, and having  
for

for offensive arms, the sword, the dagger, and great darts. We may observe in all the accounts of battles given us by the Roman historians, that the *Hastati* and *Principes*, after having discharged their darts, made use of their swords: which proves that they did not use the pike, and that what is called *Hasta*, was a missive weapon. Accordingly, we do not find, that the *Hastati* or *Principes* were opposed in action to horse, as the *Triarii* were, who were armed with a kind of short pike or spear, of which the iron was long and strong, called *Pilum*, from whence they were called *Pilani*. These last were in the beginning the only heavy-armed troops, the other not wearing compleat armour, as they did afterwards. They were called *Triarii*, because they formed the third line in the order of battle. But according to the new disposition introduced by Marius, they were posted in the front. They were also the oldest and richest citizens, and had the eagle carried before them. At the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar opposed the *Triarii* to Pompey's cavalry, who endeavoured to surround the tenth legion, and commanded them to point their short pikes, or *pila*, at the faces of those horse. The use of pikes in the Roman infantry was not introduced till long after the Emperors reigned. Florus observes, that after the defeat of Philip King of Macedonia by the Romans, the Macedonians were astonished at the terrible wounds on the bodies of their dead, which could only be made by heavy swords and great darts, and by arms much stronger than those used by the Greeks.

III. Of the cuirasses of the Romans. Some of them were made of mail, or little rings

Montfauc.  
Antiq.

rings of iron strongly inserted into each other ; and others of scales of brass. The most common were of thick leather strengthened on the outside with circular pieces of the same, or plates of iron, as they are represented upon the pillars of Trajan and Antonine, and with long straps of leather one above another, hanging at the bottom of the corslet. There were other lighter cuirasses made only of many folds of linnen cloth one over another, or of flax made strong enough to resist weapons. As to their shields, they were usually of an oval form : most of the Roman legionary troops however had square ones about two feet and a half long, convex without and concave within, by one foot and a half broad. The form of them was changed after Polybius wrote, but their matter was always the same. Furius Camillus caused them to be plated with iron, in order to their keeping off blows the better. This hollow form seemed most commodious to the Romans for making what they called the Tortoise, in covering themselves with their bucklers, disposed like tiles, when they gave the assault to a place. They found its effect so good, that they retained the use of it long. As to the size of their bucklers, it varied, as we find by the difference between what Polybius tells us of them, and later writers say. Their shields differed according to the different bodies of troops that composed the legion. We have said already, that the light-armed soldiers had small round ones. The *Hastati* had great ones, four feet long by two and a half broad. The latter composed the first line when the Tortoise was formed in the open field. The manner of using

Liv. l. 10.

Dio. Cass.  
l. 49.

the



the buckler was an exercise taught the soldiers, as well as that of throwing the javelin.

VI.  
*Arms of  
the horse.*  
Polyb.  
l. 6.

Dion. Hal.  
l. 8. c. 10.

Montfauc.  
Antiq.

As to the horse, in the beginning they had no defensive arms except an indifferent buckler of ox-hide, and for offensive arms only a weak javelin. But as it was perceived in the sequel, that they were too much exposed in consequence, they were armed after the manner of the Greeks, that is to say, at all points: even their horses had armour on the breast and flanks. The horseman wore an open helmet, upon which was a great plume of feathers, or some other ornament instead of it. His armour was either of mail or scales, and covered him to his elbow and knees, with gauntlets, and a strong shield. His offensive arms were a strong javelin tipped with iron at both ends, and a sword much longer than that of the foot. Polybius gives us this description of the armour of the Roman cavalry. Dionysius Halicarnassensis observes upon the advantage of these great strong swords in the battle of Titus Siccus against the Volsci in the 267th year of Rome. I have already said, that the horse did not use stirrups, and that their saddles were flat without bolsters; so that they had nothing to keep them firm, but their manner of sitting. To mount, they were obliged to leap on horseback completely armed; which was always difficult, though they were used to it. They were taught to mount both on the right and left side. It was not the custom to shoe their horses, tho' they did their mules. The Romans had also archers in their cavalry; but without armour, that they might be the more active. They had only a quiver full of arrows, a bow and a sword: these were a kind of light horse. There were

were no archers amongst the Roman infantry, but many amongst the auxiliary troops.

The Romans were long ignorant of all the advantages to be made of cavalry, which for that reason was little numerous. They relied solely upon their foot, in which they made their principal force consist, till the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy with well-disciplined troops first made them perceive by his manner of fighting the advantage of horse. Hannibal fully convinced them of it to their cost: for it was by the superiority of his cavalry, and his manner of using it, that he gained so many victories over them. They were indebted to these two great captains for their knowledge of the art military, of which they had but a very imperfect idea before. We find in Polybius, <sup>Polyb. l. i.</sup> that Xanthippus the general of the Carthaginians owed the famous victory, which he gained over Regulus, solely to the superiority of his cavalry to that of the Romans, and the use he knew how to make of it; and that Regulus had defeated the Carthaginians, only because their generals had not improved that advantage.

When the soldiers appeared disarmed in some pomp or public ceremony, they wore only neat small swords, gilt with silver or gold, and <sup>Herod.</sup> hanging in a slight belt. We have already seen <sup>l. 2.</sup> that none were admitted into the Roman troops till seventeen years of age; that to be a legionary soldier it was necessary to be a Roman citizen; and that during a very considerable length of time, freedmen and artificers were not received into the armies, except upon great exigencies. But they made no difficulty to admit husbandmen, provided they were citizens; considering them as men enured to labour, and fit for sustaining

Appian. de taining the fatigues of war. The great want of  
Bell. Civ. soldiers which the Romans were under in the  
l. 1. war with the allies, obliged them to admit freed-

men into the service, who from thenceforth retained that privilege. Besides the soldiers listed into the legions, there were also others called in Latin *Tirones*, that is to say, apprentices. These were supernumeraries, who were not deemed to be listed, because they did not take the military oath, till they were received into the legions in the room of the dead, or of those who had completed the term of their service. They were however maintained and taught the military exercises at the expence of the Commonwealth, till they became legionary soldiers, and served in the mean time in the light-armed troops. The Consul Rutilius Rufus, in the 647th year of Rome, during the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, instituted fencing-masters to the armies, for instructing young soldiers in the use of arms. The old soldiers had that office before: but the Consul conceived, that men who should have no other employment, would form better disciples.

V.  
*Fencing-  
masters to  
the armies.*

Under the Emperors, not only the children of the Roman citizens, but those also of all free persons, were obliged to present themselves, when there were orders for levying troops. The best made and most robust were chosen. The names of such as were chosen were set down; and either a mark was made on their skin by pricking it, or a bit of lead was hung on their breasts. It is not known when this custom began; but it was observed in the time of Dioclesian. The Emperors occasioned the institution of a new body of troops, called the *Prætorian Cohorts*, the number of which was not less

VI.  
*Prætorian  
soldiers.*

less than nine. They consisted of about ten thousand men, but were sometimes more numerous. They were solely designed for the guard of the Emperors, who however could employ them for the guard of their wives and children; but it was not customary for the Prætorian soldiers to guard any besides the Prince. This body of troops was commanded by the *Præfectus Prætorio*, as I have already said in speaking of that officer: he had Tribunes and Centurions under him. These troops were almost all infantry, with very few horse. Some cohorts of strangers were also admitted amongst them, as the *Alemanni*, *Batavi*, and *Thracians*. Tacitus tells us, that they had also some archers amongst them, whom he says Otho took with him, besides those of his guard. The Prætorian soldiers had double pay: instead of the *Denarius* of ten *asses*, which was the usual pay of other soldiers, they had two, and privileges which the others had not. At length, abusing the power they were suffered to assume, they carried it so far as to elect and dethrone several Emperors, without regard to the Senate, whom they obliged to approve and confirm those they proclaimed, unless the armies on the frontiers had elected others, and supported them. Tiberius caused a camp to be erected for them close to the city, fortified with good works like a fortress, where they usually encamped. The Emperor Constantine demolished this camp after having entirely broke these troops. Augustus gave these troops the name of Prætorian cohorts, politically to amuse the People, who were accustomed to that name, and to strengthen his power by that means without noise. For antiently during the Commonwealth the

VII  
Pay of the  
Prætorian  
soldiers  
Dio Cass.  
l. 53.

Suet. in  
vit. Otho  
Claud. &  
Galb.  
Herod.  
l. 5.



generals of the armies had a cohort of chosen soldiers for their guards, which was called the Prætorian cohort, because they did not quit the general's person, who was generally either a Consul or a Prætor ; and in the beginning the name of Prætor was given also to the Consuls, as has already been said.

The Emperor Septimus Severus very much augmented the Prætorian troops, and formed them out of the bravest soldiers of the provincial legions, contrary to the custom observed till then, of taking them only out of those of Italy. He decreed also, that the recruits for that body of troops should be drawn out of the legions. Augustus also established a kind of troops in Rome to remain always there. They were composed of seven cohorts, who were quartered in the city, and paid at the public expence. These soldiers were named *Vigiles*, because they were to watch and remedy disorders and fires which might happen. Their commander had the title of Præfect of the city, and was elected out of the order of the Knights.

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

VIII.  
*Of the  
time the  
soldiers  
were ob-  
liged to  
serve.*

Tac. l. I.  
Ibid.

The foot were obliged to serve sixteen years, and the horse ten. After the age of forty-six they were no longer admitted to serve as soldiers, and if they were in the service at that age, or had completed the term prescribed by the laws, they were at liberty to retire. But when they desired to continue longer in the service, they were ranked in the number of veterans or voluntiers ; for so they were then called. They had peculiar privileges, and were exempt from works and duty, except only when the question was to oppose the enemy. As to furlows, they made no difficulty to grant the soldiers leave to be absent for ten months. The great extent of

the empire, of which the frontiers, where the armies usually incamped, were very remote, made it necessary indeed to grant a considerable time. A soldier had no other \* judge but his officer; the laws prohibited bringing him to any other tribunal. Augustus decreed, that the Prætorian soldiers should not be dismissed till after twelve, and the others till after sixteen, years service. As long as the Commonwealth had no regular troops, she had no occasion for such regulations. She did not begin to have a certain number of legions on foot, till the war with Pyrrhus. Till then the Senate decreed the levies, some short time before it was necessary to take the field. The Consuls or officers appointed to make them, immediately proceeded to list the soldiers, and all the citizens capable of bearing arms were obliged to be present. Those who seemed most fit for the war were chosen, and the number of legions that were necessary, formed out of them; and when the campaign was over, the troops were dismissed. The same was done the next campaign; so that on every new occasion a new army took the field: and the campaign often lasted no longer than the time that was requisite for making an incursion into the enemy's country, to ravage it, and carry off all that they could, cattle, grain, and the inhabitants, whom they made slaves.

IX.

*Of levying  
the troops.*  
Polyb. l. 1.

Dion. Hal.  
l. 6 & 7.  
Liv. l. 2.

\* Bardiacus judex datur hæc punire volenti,  
Calceus, & grandes magna ad subfella suræ,  
Legibus antiquis castrorum, & more Camilli  
Servato, miles ne vallum litiget extra,  
Et procul à signis. *Juv. Sat. XVI.*

*A booted judge shall sit to try his cause,  
Not by the statute, but by martial laws;  
Which old Camillus order'd, to confine  
The brawls of soldiers to the trench and line.* Dryden.

After

Dion. Hal.  
l. 6. c. 2.  
Liv. l. 5.

After that, the troops marched back with their booty to Rome, and were disbanded. But if the enemy had also an army on foot, as soon as they came in view of each other, a battle ensued, the event of which also put an end to the campaign, that consequently was not very long, unless it was necessary to besiege some place, which generally took up a considerable length of time; especially when the place was naturally strong, and provided with troops and provisions. For the Romans in those days did not know most of the machines of war. These incursions induced the Romans in the early times to build little forts in the most advantageous parts of the Roman territory, where they left some troops in garrison, to serve as an asylum for the husbandmen and inhabitants of the country, who took refuge in them with their baggage and cattle, as soon as the enemy appeared, and abandoned their houses, which were then only a kind of cottages. During the whole time that the Commonwealth gave her troops no pay, it is no wonder that the citizens who composed them, were desirous to return home as soon as possible, in order to cultivate their lands, and follow their professions. And this was a sufficiently powerful motive to determine them to shorten the campaign in this manner, and to prevent them from having legions always on foot. However, when the Commonwealth had extended her conquests in Italy, she perceived the necessity she was under of having troops always on foot, to awe the people newly subjected to her power, and always seeking occasions to revolt from it.

CHAPTER V.

- I. *Of the ignorance of the first Romans in the art of war.* II. *Of the military discipline.* III. *Causes of the insolence of the Roman soldiery.* IV. *Exactness in paying the troops.* V. *Of the troops of which the armies were composed.*

**I**T was not only in the attack of places, that I. the Romans had little experience at that *Of the* time; they were even ignorant of the danger *ignorance* there was in exposing themselves on the plain, *of the first* against an enemy superior in cavalry. They *Romans in* were also ignorant of the manner of avoiding a *the art of* battle, either by advantagious incampments, or by marches or counter-marches. They considered the least delay as a want of courage, and made the whole art military consist solely in an obstinate and savage courage, having had to deal till then only with neighbours as little experienced as themselves. But they discovered their errors in their wars with Pyrrhus and Hannibal. Of the first they learnt the order of incampments, and the manner of employing cavalry; and of the other, the stratagems, and true science of war. They knew so well how to improve from their lessons, and rendered themselves so expert, that in the sequel they excelled all other nations in them. Military discipline was during a long time so exact and so severe amongst them, that victory itself was a crime, when obtained without the general's order: their history has many examples of this kind. Scipio Africanus was the first, that softened

Liv. 1. 8.



II. this mistaken severity ; and afterwards it was  
*Of the mi-* confined within due bounds. It is certain that the  
*litary* military discipline of no nation ever excelled  
*discipline.* that of the Romans, and that it has since served  
 as the model for the best governed States. Au-  
 gustus, perceiving that the security of a State  
 depends in a great measure upon military disci-  
 pline, was extremely intent upon maintaining  
 it, after he became quiet possessor of the em-  
 pire. He caused the cohorts that had quitted  
 their posts to be decimated ; and ordered that  
 nothing but barley should be given them for a  
 certain time, instead of the corn which was  
 usually distributed amongst them for their sub-  
 sistence. Officers were forbade to quit their  
 posts upon pain of death : but if the faults were  
 less considerable, he contented himself with  
 some slight punishment ; as to make them stand  
 an whole day in the *Prætorium*, and sometimes  
 in only a single tunic, that is almost to say  
 shirt, carrying poles or turf. In the time of  
 the Commonwealth the soldiers were also deci-  
 mated for great faults ; and for those of a smaller  
 nature, they were condemned either to barley  
 bread, or reduced to an inferior rank in the  
 troops. If they were *Hastati* they were made  
 to serve amongst the *Velites*. It must be owned  
 indeed, that military discipline was not always  
 observed with the same strictness, and that the  
 soldiers were sometimes treated with too much  
 indulgence and impunity ; but that remissness  
 proceeded either from the avarice of the gene-  
 rals, who were too attentive to their private  
 interest, or the heads of the contending parties  
 during the civil war. Sylla enriched his sol-  
 diers with the estates of those he proscribed :  
 and the usurpers of the empire endeavoured to  
 conciliate

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

Val. Max.  
l. 2. c. 7.

Liv. l. 2.

Plut. in  
vit. Syll.  
Appian. de  
Bell. Civ.  
l. 1.

conciliate their favour, for their own support. Those ambitious citizens rendered the Roman soldiery little docile, and even insolent, by the careffes and presents which they made them, doubling even their pay, as the usurper Macrinus did.

III.  
*Causes of the insolence of the Roman soldiery.*  
Herod l. 4.  
Jul Capit.

Under the Emperors, the avarice of the Centurions introduced the abuse of selling furlows sometimes, and even exemptions from work and fatigues, like those enjoyed by the Veterans. Tacitus informs us, that this abuse began to take place about the beginning of the reign of Tiberius. It augmented continually in the sequel, so that all the soldiers who had money, could exempt themselves from military labours, which did not a little contribute to destroy that excellent discipline, which had rendered the Romans so formidable.

Tac. Ann. l. 1.

The effect of these exemptions was, to give birth to idleness amongst the soldiers, and rendered them in consequence more disposed to cabal amongst themselves. And accordingly we find, that mutinies were more frequent in the army under the Emperors, than during the Commonwealth. What also favoured them, was the custom of the different armies of the empire, to contract a kind of alliance or confederacy with each other, which served only to augment their boldness, in making insolent demands, or forming parties. When one army desired to enter into such a league with another, they sent a deputation to it, composed of one or more centurions, attended by some old soldiers, with the figure of two hands joined together, a symbol of the union to be formed between them.

Ibid.

However, notwithstanding all these disorders, the military discipline did not fail to support itself during a great length of time: for as soon as the Empire fell into better hands, it resumed all its vigour. Avidius Cassius, general in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, caused it to be observed so strictly, that he forbade his soldiers to carry any other provisions for their subsistence except bacon, biscuit, and vinegar; and the last day of every week he inspected their arms and habits, to see whether they were in good condition, or wanted repair, and made them perform the exercise. Septimus Severus, though a sufficiently exact observer of discipline, permitted the legionary soldiers to marry, and their wives to follow the army, which was an additional incumbrance. However, under Alexander Severus, who succeeded next, discipline was again so exactly observed, that if any soldier straggled in order to plunder, he caused him to be scourged with rods in his presence, or even condemned him to die. A soldier who was a carpenter, having injured an old woman, was broke at the head of his company by the Prince, who condemned him to serve that woman, and to maintain her by his work. The same Emperor said, that a soldier feared nothing when he was well cloathed, well armed, well fed, and had his belt well furnished, that is to say, had money, for they generally carried their purses in their belt. The Romans always took care to pay their troops regularly. The Commonwealth began about the 347th year of Rome to give the infantry pay, upon account of the length of the siege of Veii; for the soldiers served before at their own expence. The foot at first had three *asses* a day, and six for each Centurion.

Vulc Gall.  
in vit.  
Avid. Cass.

Herod. l. 3.

Lamprid.  
in vit.  
Alex. Sev.

IV.  
*Exactiones*  
*in paying*  
*the troops.*  
Liv. l. 4

turion. Five or six years after, they began to give the cavalry pay also, and each horseman had three times the pay of a foot soldier; which was afterwards augmented to two *oboli*, or two thirds of a *denarius* for the infantry, and an whole *denarius* for the cavalry: but under the Emperors, the pay of each foot soldier was one *denarius*, and the horse had two. The *denarius* was a silver coin, that weighed a dram, as we have said before. The Commonwealth in some times supplied the troops with wheat *gratis*, allowing each of the foot about four bushels *per* month, and each of the horse twelve, on account of his servants, and almost two and forty bushels of barley for his horses. At other times, all this was deducted out of their pay: but under most of the Emperors, they had their pay without any deductions. It was not the same in respect to their habiliments, with which they were indeed supplied, but the price of them was deducted out of their pay, as well as of their arms and tents.

The Roman armies were more or less numerous, according to occasions; but they were always composed of three bodies. The first were the Roman legions, into which none were admitted but citizens: the second were the troops, called allies, which the States of Italy furnished, and which served during the Commonwealth without pay, except only corn, that was given them. For when Rome received any city or province into her alliance, it was always upon condition of supplying troops when demanded, and of maintaining them at their own expence; as she did with the *Æqui* in the 289th year of Rome. And lastly, the third body was composed of auxiliary troops, sent by strangers.

Polyb. l. 6.

Tac. l. 1.

V.  
Of the  
troops of  
which the  
armies  
were com-  
posed.  
Polyb. l. 1.

Dion Hal.  
l. 9. c. 15.

these



these were paid daily during the Commonwealth. Till the time of the Emperors, the armies were commanded either by the Consuls, Prætors, or Proconsuls, with one or more lieutenants under them. The horse had a peculiar commander, but always subordinate to the Dictator, who appointed him: he was called *Magister equitum*, that is to say what we call General of the cavalry. Julius Cæsar entirely suppressed this office.

Polyb. 1.6. There was also an officer called *Præfectus*, who had the care of encampments, and fortifications of the camp, and of the sick and the carriages. We have already seen that the Quæstors discharged the functions of our treasurers and commissaries of war.

CHAPTER VI.

- I. *Of encampments.* II. *Of the disposition of the camp.* III. *Of the soldiers manner of living.* IV. *Of decamping.* V. *March of Vespasian's army.* VI. *Condition of a soldier, highly considered.*

FROM the time that the Romans had learned the form, disposition, and fortifications of a camp from Pyrrhus, their manner of encamping was almost always the same. They gave their camp a square form, and at each front there was a gate, so that there were four in all. As soon as the army arrived at the place where the camp had been marked out, the first thing that was done was to make the soldiers throw up the intrenchments: for they never encamped without intrenching to prevent surprize. These intrenchments consisted only of a ditch five feet wide, and three deep, of which the earth was flung up on the side next the camp, in order to form a kind of rampart, which they strengthened with turf and palisades, when they were to stay in it only one or two nights. But if they were to make a longer stay in it, they dug a trench from eleven to twelve feet in breadth, and proportionable depth, behind which they erected a rampart of earth, strengthened with fascines, covered with turf, and flanked with towers at the distance of fourscore feet from each other, with parapets and battlements, in the same manner as the walls of a town. The soldiers were accustomed to these works, and threw them up without quitting their arms; which was so severely enjoined them, that the general

I.

*Of encampments.*  
Polyb. l. 6.

Tac. l. 11. general Corbulo, who commanded upon the Rhine in the time of the Emperor Claudius, caused two soldiers to be put to death, who had worked upon the intrenchments of the camp, the one without a sword, and the other armed

II. only with a dagger. The tent of the Consul, *Disposition of the camp.* Prætor, or general, was pitched in the proper-  
Polyb. l. 6. est place for seeing the whole camp, and in the  
Joseph. de midst of a square, of which each side was an  
bell. Rom. hundred feet distant from it, and the tents of the  
general's guard were pitched at each corner of this square. The *Prætorium*, or general's tribunal, was inclosed in the same place as his tent. The historian Josephus says, that it had the form of a little temple: it was here he dispensed justice. There were also other places in the camp, where the principal officers adjudged the differences that arose between the soldiers. We find in Polybius that three centinels were posted before the Quæstor's quarters,  
Polyb. l. 6. which was called *Quæstorium*, where the military chest was kept. Two were also posted before the quarters of those sent by the Senate to serve as the general's council, who were commonly Senators, upon whose experience they could rely. Another tribunal made of earth and turf was erected in the principal esplanade or square of the camp, from whence the general harangued in public: for amongst the Romans, the general prepared and encouraged his troops by a discourse, which he made to them previously to any considerable action. The quarters of the  
Plut. in camp were divided into streets, that ran in a  
vit. Syll. line, with squares in different parts of them,  
Pomp. & Cæs. where provisions and other necessaries were sold,  
Joseph. de there being shops in them kept by all sorts of  
bell. Rom. artificers, who always followed the armies in  
Veget. l. 1. c. 2 & 18. great

great numbers; so that the camp formed a kind of city, where the space of two hundred feet was left between the camp and the intrenchments, in order that the troops might draw up behind them for their defence in case of an attack. In this void space the cattle for the subsistence of the camp were kept.

The Romans always had armies upon the frontiers of the Empire, in peace as well as war, with this only difference, that they were not so numerous in time of peace: they encamped the whole year, winter as well as summer. Care was taken, that the camps should be well fortified, and supplied with all kinds of munitions of war during the winter. For they found, that the fortified cities did not suffice for the security of the frontier provinces against the incursions of the Barbarians; and that these bodies of troops, which were always in readiness to march, and in condition to act, were the best method for keeping them in awe, and preventing their irruptions. Besides which, exercising the soldiery continually in military labours, served to maintain discipline, and rendered them more capable of supporting the extraordinary fatigues, which happened during war: for when it is necessary to act, troops kept in exercise are less subject to diseases, than those who take the field after long rest and inactivity. Besides these cantoned armies, the Romans used to form colonies of citizens and old soldiers upon the frontiers, and in the provinces newly conquered, in order to awe the People. As soon as it was day, the soldiers of the camp went to salute their Centurions, who afterwards waited upon the Tribunes, and accompanied them to the general, when he gave them the word, and

Suet. in  
vit. Aug. &  
Tib.  
Tac. l. 1  
& 4.

Tac. l. 14.  
Vell. Pat.  
l. 1. c. 5.  
Polyb. l. 6.  
Joseph.  
l. 3. c. 6.



the necessary orders, which they carried to their inferiors. When the Tribunes went to receive the general's orders, they presented him the roll of those who served under them. In a word, every thing was so well regulated in the camp, that the hour for going to sleep was fixed, as well as those for meals, which they made all together by tents, not being allowed to eat separately. Their food usually was bacon, cheese and biscuit ; and their drink water mixed with a little vinegar. Many authors tell us, that generals and even some Emperors lived no better, whilst with the army ; but none mention either the abundance or elegance of their tables. The Emperors however often invited their officers to eat with them ; and Trebellius Pollio informs us, that they took off their belts with their swords in them, before they sat down with the Emperor. But the son of Gallienus whilst a child, seeing the belts adorned with gold, which some of the officers had left in the hall of the palace, whilst they ate, carried them away. Those officers not finding them, dared not complain ; but being invited again to the Emperor's table, they took off neither their belts nor their swords, lest they should be taken away again ; and from thenceforth the officers, to whom the Emperors did that honour, ate with their swords on.

It is observed that the Emperor Adrian marched at the head of the legions on foot in his arms, and that he lived in the same manner as his soldiers. The Roman history mentions many others who did the same.

The soldiers in the camp, when not on duty, exercised themselves in the management of their arms. They fixed stakes up for this purpose, against

Appian.de  
Bell. Civ.

l. 5.

III.

*Of the  
soldiers  
way of  
living.*

Polyb. l. 6.

Joseph.

l. 3. c. 6.

Spart. in

vit. Adri.

Herod.

l. 3. & 4.

Trebell.

Poll. in vit.

Gallien.

Spart. in

vit. Adri.

Herod. l. 2.

against which they practised with a shield and a staff, instead of a sword, both heavier than their usual arms, in order that the latter might appear lighter in their hands when used. In like manner, to render their arm the stronger, they threw a bar, which was heavier than the dart. They also shot with the bow, discharged stones with the sling, and exercised themselves in running compleatly armed. The horse in like manner exercised their horses, and endeavoured in their career to hit a buckler fastened to a post with their javelins. Polybius informs us in what <sup>Polyb.</sup> manner Scipio Africanus exercised his troops in <sup>l. 10.</sup> Spain : the first day he made the legions run about four thousand paces, armed at all points ; the second he employed them in cleaning their arms before their tents ; the third he let them rest ; the fourth he made them fight, one side against the other, with a kind of files ; and the fifth these exercises began again in the same order : by this method he kept them always breathing, and fit for service. On relieving the posts at every watch in the night, the trumpets were sounded : the centinels cried out from time to time in order to be heard, and to let each other know that they were awake ; and every morning the trumpets sounded before the general's tent, which was a mark of honour peculiar to him. The signal for decamping was also given by this instrument ; and immediately after the general's tent was struck, the soldiers struck theirs. These tents were made of leather, one to every ten soldiers. They then made up their baggage. At the second sound of the trumpets they loaded it ; and on the third the army began to march, after having set fire to their camp, that the enemy might not use it.

IV.

*Of decamping.*

it. No author has described in so clear and circumstantial a manner the march of a Roman army, as the historian Josephus. At the time of which he speaks, their discipline was in its greatest perfection. It therefore cannot be better related than in the terms of his description, which is as follows.

Joseph. de  
Bell. Rom.

When the army prepares to march, none are suffered to stay behind, in order that every one may march in his post. An herald then who is near the general, asks them three times, whether they are in readiness to fight, to which they answer as often by cries to express their joy, or else by lifting up their hands: after which they move in good order, without ever breaking their ranks.

Polyb.  
l. 17.

The same author tells us, in what manner they were armed. The foot, says he, have helmets and cuirasses, and each carries two swords, of which that on the left side is much longer than that on the right, which is only a dagger, being no more than a palm in length, or nine inches. We have seen above, that Polybius places the long sword on the right side, and the dagger on the left. The chosen troops, who attend the general's person, have spears with great shields, and all the rest of the foot have darts with long bucklers; and in a kind of wicker cases, a saw, an hedge-bill, an hatchet, a pick-ax, a sickle, a chain or leather thongs, and bread for three days; so that they are scarce less laden than horses. Polybius says, that the Roman soldiers carried their bucklers hanging at their backs, their darts in their hands, besides a stake to serve as a palisade in their intrenchments, and on some occasions three or four, bound together like a faggot. These stakes were

were not smooth; they chose them full of branches, of which they left three or four on, but only on one side, which served, as they were planted near one another, to interweave so as to form an hedge, and to bind them so firmly together, that one could not be pulled up separately; so that a passage could not be made through them without cutting them down. However the *relievo* on Trajan's column represents these stakes like those now used for palisades, and planted very near to each other. We may judge how much the Roman soldiers were enured to fatigue; for they were obliged to carry all this, besides their arms and cuirasses. Marius to avoid the trouble, which too much baggage occasions in the march of an army, and to ease the troops, caused every soldier to make up his equipage and provisions into a bundle, which he carried upon his shoulders with a fork, that lightened the load, and afforded him means of resting himself with greater ease. It was on this account, that the soldiers of that general were called Marius's mules. To avoid incumbrance, horses and mules were used in the armies for carrying the baggage and ammunition rather than waggons. Several Emperors however, and amongst others Alexander Severus, made the service of the troops more easy, in permitting them to cause their provisions and baggage to be carried in waggons. Under the Emperor Gordian, for the greater conveniency, magazines of wheat, barley, straw, bacon and vinegar, were erected in all the frontier cities of the empire: the whole munitions of the Roman armies consisted in those things. These magazines were more or less considerable, in proportion to the

Frontin.

l. 4.

Jul. Capit.

in vit.

Gord.

T

cities



cities where they were established ; in order that the armies might not be distressed for their subsistence. Vopiscus repeats a fragment of a letter of the Emperor Aurelian's, from which it appears that each century had a mule to carry their common baggage.

As to the Horse, on the right side they wore a sword, long in respect to those of the foot, which were short. They carried a spear in their hands, a shield slung on the side of their horses, and a quiver with three, and sometimes more, darts in it, of which the points were very broad ; these darts were not shorter than javelins ; which seems to argue that the darts were usually not so long as the javelins. Their cuirasses and helmet were like those of the foot. Those who attended the general, were armed like the rest ; and lots determined which troops should be posted in the front of the army.

After the historian Josephus has given us all these particulars in respect to the Roman army under Vespasian, he describes their march as follows.

V. *March of Vespasian's army.* The auxiliary troops, as the most lightly armed, marched first to sustain the skirmishes of the enemy, and reconnoitre the woods and other places, where they might have planted ambuscades. Part of the Roman foot and horse followed, and ten soldiers of each company with their arms and the things necessary for forming a camp. The pioneers came next, to level the roads, and cut down the trees that might retard the march. The baggage of the officers, with a body of cavalry to guard it, followed. Then came Vespasian, with chosen troops both of horse and foot armed with javelins. Sixscore men were drawn out of each  
great

great body of horse for that purpose. The machines for taking places were the next; and then the tribunes and captains accompanied by chosen soldiers. After them was seen the Imperial eagle; surrounded by the other ensigns, on which were the images called sacred. The trumpets and clarions followed; and then the main body in columns of six in front, with the officers appointed to make them keep their ranks, and observe discipline. The servants of each legion attended the soldiers, driving the mules and horses laden with their baggage, for which permission had evidently been granted before this time. In the rear of all were the sutlers, artificers, and other mercenaries, escorted by a considerable body of horse and foot. The Roman soldiers had servants; but that great number of servants, far from incommoding the army, served it on occasion, as a supply of forces, being all prepared to second their masters on occasion.

As none could attain offices, during the Commonwealth, till they had served ten years, That induced the young Nobility, and the sons of the rich to enter themselves in the troops, independently of the general obligation of all the Roman citizens to serve in the army, when occasion required. Hence the Roman soldiery consisted of a great number of persons of distinction; which placed the condition of a soldier in much higher consideration, than it is at this time. It seems also to have been the will of the Commonwealth, that the generals should take great care to spare the lives of the Roman soldiers, provided that strictness of discipline did not suffer by it, as she did not grant the honour of a triumph to a general, except when victory had not cost him much blood.

Polyb. 1.6.

VI.

*Condition of a soldier much considered.*

Eutr. 1. 8.  
& 9.  
Herod.  
1. 6.

Tac. 1. 1.

The honours annexed to the Civic crown, which was the reward of him who saved the life of a citizen in battle, sufficiently expressed how grateful that service was to the Commonwealth. The Emperors had not the same attention; though the condition of a soldier was in no less consideration under them, in effect of the power which the armies arrogated to themselves of electing Emperors, and the hope which a private person might have, not only of attaining the first offices of the army, which could be done only by degrees, but even the empire itself, as happened to many. However, under such princes as caused military discipline to be observed, we find the centurions treated the soldiers with abundance of severity and even cruelty, as appears from the reproaches made by the soldiers of Germanicus on that head in a sedition, which arose in his camp in the beginning of Tiberius's reign.

The historian Josephus differs with Polybius, in respect to the swords, which the latter says they wore on the right side, and the former on the left: however, we ought not to be surprized at these differences, no more than at those which we find in several things upon the monuments of antiquity and in other authors. These differences arise, as has been already observed, only from those of time: for customs have admitted various alterations, as we have seen in respect to the horse, who at first had no cuirass, which they afterwards had. But it is certain, that in all these different times, the swords of the horsemen were always longer than those of the foot; on which fact Dionysius Halicarnassensis and Josephus agree, as well as concerning the swords of the foot, that were not long, in effect

effect of their custom of fighting close covered with their bucklers : but it is impossible to treat this matter with the utmost exactness. For the rest, it is certain that the swords were very broad, and that they cut both with edge and point. Tacitus, in the history of the Emperor Otho, relating the battle of Bebriacum, says, <sup>Tac. Hist. l. 2.</sup> that the soldiers, who were upon the causeway of the great road, pushed each other with their bodies and bucklers, cutting their helmets and cuirasses with axes and swords. Dionysius Halicarnassensis gives us the same idea in his description of the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, and in many other parts of his history. But all this does not prove, that the blades of the sword were only thirteen or fourteen inches long, as those pretend, who adhere too scrupulously to antient statues and relievos. There seems more reason to believe, that the sculptors rather conformed to the magnitude of the blocks of marble which they cut, or their own convenience, than to the just proportion of the arms of those times, which might have been inconvenient to them in their works, if they had strictly confined themselves to the truth.



## CHAPTER VII.

- I. *Of the machines used instead of artillery.* II. *Of fortifications.* III. *Of the tortoise for scaling walls.* IV. *Manner of attacking places.* V. *Of mines made for throwing down ramparts.* VI. *Of the tortoise in the open field.* VII. *Of the order of battle.* VIII. *Military will.*

I.  
*Machines  
used in-  
stead of  
artillery.*

THE machines which they used instead of artillery followed the armies, as we have just seen in the march of Vespasian. They were drawn upon carriages, some put together and fit for service, and others in pieces, because too gross to be reared any where except on some solid place, as upon towers, ramparts or platforms. They consisted in the effect of the powers of motion, and were used either for discharging stones and darts, or for battering walls and ramparts in order to shake and throw them down. Those, of which most knowledge is come down to us, are the ram, the wolf, the tortoise, the balista, the catapulta, and the scorpion; the two last were almost the same thing. The ram was composed of a large long beam, armed at one end with iron in the form of a ram's head, and of the same bigness with the beam. This piece of wood was suspended by chains *in æquilibrio*, in order to be set in motion with the greater ease. An hundred men, more or less, worked it by main strength, to make it strike against a wall or rampart, in order to beat them down after having shaken them by repeated blows. Care was taken to cloath this beam with wet leather to prevent its being

being set on fire. It was slung under a kind of moving tortoise or gallery, which covered more than half of it, in order to shelter those who worked the ram from the darts and stones of the besieged. The latter generally opposed it with wool-packs, or sacks full of straw, at the place where it struck in order to deaden the blow, and prevent its effect. A machine was also <sup>Veget. l. 4. c. 14.</sup> made use of for this purpose called the wolf, by way of opposition to the ram, with which they endeavoured to grapple it in order to draw it to themselves, or break it. The tortoise was also another sort of machine, which we must not confound with that the soldiers made with their bucklers. It was used as the ram, and made in the same manner, except that at the place where the ram's head stood, its beam was armed with a piece of iron, bent in the manner of a claw, with which stones were pulled out. Both the ram and tortoise were generally covered with a moving gallery of carpenter's work, mounted upon broad and low wheels, for pushing it forwards or drawing it back at discretion, and covered with clay or turf, to prevent its being set on fire.

The *Balista* was a very large engine in the nature of a cross-bow, with which they discharged stones that weighed six-score pounds. Josephus relates, that at the siege of Jerusalem there were balistas of sufficient force to throw stones two *stadia*. Appian says, that Sylla, in the <sup>Appian. de Bell. Mith.</sup> war with Mithridates, had engines of this kind, that discharged twenty large leaden balls at once. The same engine was also used for discharging large darts called *Falarica*, or fire-darts, of which the end was armed with a large square point of iron, three feet long, and very sharp,

sharp, wrapt round with tow steeped in oil, sulphur and other combustibles, which were discharged blazing. They had also another kind of fire-darts, called *Trifax*, from having three points: it was discharged by another kind of machine called *Catapulta*. That called a *Scorpion*, was also a small cross-bow carried in the hand, and so called, because the iron points of the darts it discharged were extremely small and sharp like the sting of the scorpion. However we find in Ammianus Marcellinus, that a machine for throwing flints and other stones was called also *Scorpion*.

Com. Cæs.  
l. 7.

The Romans as well as the moderns knew the use of crow-feet for incommoding the cavalry, and of pontons for passing rivers. The pontons, which were little boats, were placed upon wheels, and used as waggons to carry the baggage. They were taken off the wheels, when it was necessary to make bridges of them.

II.  
*Of fortifications.*

As to the manner of fortifying places, it consisted in surrounding them with walls, of greater or less height and thickness, with battlements at top, and flanked with towers at the distance of fourscore or an hundred feet from each other, and sometimes without fossés round them. But the best-fortified had broad and deep ones, with draw-bridges at the gates, which were also defended by towers. They had no occasion for any other defence for advanced works, there being no machines that produced such terrible effects as those of powder.

The attack of places depends on the manner in which they are fortified: thus when there were no fossés, and the walls were not very high, they immediately endeavoured to scale them by the

the means of the tortoise. It was formed in III.  
different manners, and on different occasions: *The tortoise*  
that for scaling consisted in making the sol- *for scaling*  
diers advance by platoons to the walls, closing *walls.*  
their ranks and covering their heads with their Tac. l. 3.  
bucklers; so that the first ranks standing up- & 4.  
right, and the last on their knees, their buck- Liv. l. 44.  
lers disposed one above the other like tiles, form-  
ed all together a kind of sloping roof, upon  
which all that was thrown from the top of the  
walls slid off without hurting the troops under-  
neath. In these operations the hollow bucklers  
used by the infantry, were more useful and com-  
modious than any other. Upon this roof of  
bucklers other soldiers were made to mount,  
who covering themselves in the same manner,  
endeavoured to drive away those who appeared  
on the walls with their spears, and to get upon  
them by raising up one another. When the  
walls were too high to be scaled by the tortoise,  
they had recourse to ladders, which they placed  
against the walls and ramparts, and climbed up,  
under favour of the arrows, darts, and stones  
discharged against those who defended them.  
For this purpose they had ladders of different  
forms, always higher or lower by two feet than  
the walls they intended to scale. Besides the  
usual ladders, there were others which took in  
pieces, and some made of cords, with iron  
hooks at the end of them, to lay hold of the  
walls. There were others that folded together  
by opening and shutting; and some that had a  
little sentry-box at top, into which some one  
was put to discover in safety what the enemy  
were doing upon the rampart. As the most IV.  
usual manner of attacking places was by escalade, *Manner of*  
pains had been taken to invent whatever could *attacking*  
facilitate *places.*



facilitate the success of it : for there was still another kind of ladder, that ran upon wheels, to be moved forwards or drawn back occasionally, on the top of which was a little bridge for passing to the ramparts, when there was a ditch at bottom. If there was water in the fossés, they had others planted in barks ; these they called *Sambucæ*. When the place was too well fortified to be taken by escalade, they surrounded it with lines of circumvallation, and even contravallation, if they apprehended being attacked from without. They afterwards erected platforms or cavaliers as high as the walls, and as near as possible to the besieged, upon which machines for discharging darts and stones were planted. They also used moving towers of wood, which were made to approach the ramparts, and on which soldiers were placed who discharged stones and darts, under favour of which the fossé was filled up, and the rams brought forwards to make a breach. These towers were covered with plates of iron at the parts most exposed, in order to make them less liable to fire. The soldiers carried on their works under the cover of certain mantelets, called *Vinea* & *Pluteus*. The first was sixteen feet long, eight broad, and seven high, and was composed of planks of a light wood covered with hurdles, and over them with raw hides or a little earth to defend them from fire. The other was made only of hurdles of osiers, covered with nothing but raw skins, and fixed on three wheels, the one in the midst, and the two others at the two ends, for the facility of turning it any way. The troops carried on their approaches, and the workmen broke ground under these mantelets : besides which to shelter them from the darts and stones,

Comm.

Cæs. l. 7.

Tac. l. 12.

Liv. l. 23.

Veget. l. 4.

stones, curtains made of large cords or cables Cæf. de bell. civ. l. 2. were placed before the workmen, which last invention had a wonderful good effect against the discharges of stones. The soldiers used also another precaution to break and deaden their force: this was to cover their helmets with wicker.

Though the Romans did not know gun-pow- v. der, they however made use of mines for demolishing walls. In order to that, they dug a Mines for throwing down ram-parts. kind of caves under the works they designed to throw down; and in proportion as they advanced under the foundations, they prop'd them with pieces of wood, covered with combustible matter to which they set fire; and as those props consumed, the walls, that had nothing to support them, fell in, and in that manner formed a new breach for an assault, besides those made by the rams and tortoises. The besieged in that case, when it was in their power, and they were not pressed too hard, threw up other intrenchments and new walls behind those thrown down, which were attacked in the same manner.

Besides the ram and tortoise, all the other machines of which we have now spoke were equally used in attacking and defending places. For the defence of places against assaults and escalades, the besieged employed great stones, wheels, and even waggons with four wheels full of heavy things, which they rolled down from the top of the works upon the besiegers, as they did tuns full of earth, and cylinders of stones. They made use also of all kinds of artificial fires, composed of the most combustible matters, in order to set on fire the machines of the enemy. When they approached the ramparts, they

they also threw boiling oil and burning sand, prepared expressly at great fires, upon them. The engineers, in defending places, used not only the machine called the *wolf*, that was made like sheers and nippers, with which they endeavoured to seize or break the ram; but invented new ones, according to occasion, for opposing those of the besiegers, as the famous Archimedes did in the defence of the city of Syracuse against the Romans.

Besides the tortoise mentioned above, there was another of a different kind, which the troops formed with bucklers in the open field, to defend themselves against darts and arrows. According to Plutarch, M. Antony used it against the Parthians, to cover himself against the prodigious quantity of arrows, which they discharged upon his troops. That tortoise was made in this manner: the legionary troops took the light-armed troops into the midst of them: those in the front rank had one knee upon the ground, holding their bucklers upright before them; those of the second rank put their shields over the heads of the first; and those of the third covered the second in the same manner. The rest did the same, taking care to place their shields one above another, as tiles are ranged, so that they formed a kind of roof with their bucklers, which being a little hollow, joined easily into each other, and thereby sheltered them from the arrows, and principally from those discharged in the air, as the Parthians shot them.

When a battle was resolved on, the signal was made by hoisting a red coat of arms over the general's tent.

Though

Plut. in vit.  
Anton.  
Dio Cass.  
l. 49.  
VI.

*Of the tortoise in the open field.*

Veget. l. 3.  
c. 5.

Though the order of an army in battle, and VII.  
the disposition of the troops, depend on the si-<sup>Order of</sup>  
tuation of places, circumstances, occasions, and <sup>battle.</sup>  
even the manner in which the enemy are drawn  
up; however each nation had its peculiar man-  
ner. Scipio Africanus, as Polybius informs us,  
drew up his troops in his battle with Asdrubal in  
Africa in the following manner. According to Polyb.  
the custom of the Roman discipline, he placed <sup>l. 14.</sup>  
the *Hastati* in front, the *Principes* next, and the  
*Triarii* in the rear. He posted the Italian ca-  
valry on the right wing, and the Numidians on  
the left: which shews, that it was the custom  
of the Romans to draw up their armies in three  
lines, of which the third was the rear-guard or  
body of reserve. The Roman legions always <sup>Polyb. l. 2.</sup>  
formed the main body, or centre of the army, <sup>Cæf. Com. l. 1.</sup>  
the oldest legion having the right. The allies  
and auxiliary troops composed the two wings:  
the Roman horse, divided by brigades, was  
posted so as to cover the right wing, and that of  
the allies the left: each wing was commanded  
by a lieutenant-general. The army of Pompey <sup>Plut in vit. Pomp.</sup>  
was thus drawn up in three lines at the battle of  
Pharfalia. Every foot-soldier occupied five foot  
of ground, that he might have room to move  
his arms and to act: and care was taken to leave  
a certain space between the *Hastati*, and *Princi-*  
*pes* who formed the second line, did not keep  
such close order, and occupied more ground;  
in order that if the *Hastati* were broke, and  
obliged to give way, they might retire amongst  
the *Principes*, without putting them into confu-  
sion, or disordering their ranks. The *Triarii*,  
who composed the third line, observed the same  
method. The *Velites* were placed in the spaces  
between



between the battalions of each line: they advanced and began the battle by skirmishing, as has been said already.

The manner of fighting of the first Romans was by platoons, each composed of a maniple. Marius changed this order of battle, and formed battalions consisting either of three maniples, or an whole cohort.

The general posted himself in the centre between the *Principes* and *Triarii*, accompanied by his guards and the veterans, who, at his request, continued to serve under him: for which reason they were called *Evocati*. They were distributed sometimes amongst the ranks to animate and sustain the new soldiers. It was customary before they armed for a battle, to rub themselves with oil, in order to render their members more supple and active, and less sensible to cold in winter.

Plut. in vit.  
Brut.  
Suet. in  
vit. Cæs.

VIII.  
*Military*  
*quills.*  
Iustus.

The army did not fail before they began the action, to sacrifice to the Gods, in order to render them propitious; and the *aruspices* consulted the entrails of the victims, to know the event of the battle. It was at this instant, that the officers and soldiers, who desired it, made their wills by word of mouth in presence of their comrades. There was no occasion for any other ceremony in military testaments, which were received in law, and declared as valid as others. But only those whose names were upon the roll of the troops, had this privilege: those who only followed the armies did not enjoy it. Before beginning the action, the Consul or general harangued the troops to encourage them to behave well; but not as historians repeat those discourses. For most authors, writing in the times

when the art of eloquence was highly in esteem, have endeavoured, in adorning and enlarging them, to leave posterity proofs, that they were not less excellent orators than historians. When the discourse was at an end, the trumpets sound-Dio Cass. ed the charge, and the troops immediately raised<sup>l. 47.</sup> a great cry in token of alacrity, which was called the cry of war.

As long as the Romans made war at the gates of their city, it was the custom to carry the wounded thither, who were distributed<sup>Tac. l. 4.</sup> amongst the richer citizens, none endeavouring<sup>Liv. l. 2.</sup> to exempt themselves from that care and expence. There were no physicians in those times at Rome, who, as every body knows, were afterwards surgeons also. During the Commonwealth, there were none in the Roman armies: the soldiers dressed each other's wounds with known remedies used in the city. The antient citizens, who had almost all served in the armies, did the office of physicians. It does not appear that under the Emperors, there were any physicians in the armies, as there are surgeons in ours; but the Emperors carried their physicians to the army with them. The Romans, in the time of the Commonwealth, did not ransom the prisoners of war, conceiving a facility in that respect might be of dangerous example; and that it was better to leave them under the necessity of conquering or dying, As to the booty, the oath those in the camp were made to take, not to secrete any thing, and to deliver every thing they found into the hands of the Tribune, was so religiously observed, that none failed to carry the plunder they took to the Tribune of each legion. This was publicly sold, and the money distributed,

distributed, not only to the troops who had been present in the action, but to the soldiers of the same army, who were either sick, or had been detached on some other expedition. If the army happened to be divided into two bodies, as was usual when some city was to be plundered, that which continued under arms, had an equal share in the spoils with the other that took them: so well was discipline observed.

## CHAPTER VIII.

- I. Of *military rewards*. II. Of *military punishments*. III. *Degradation from bearing arms*. IV. *What was observed on quitting the service*. V. *Severity of the military discipline*. VI. Of *the triumph*. VII. Of *the conditions necessary to obtaining a triumph*. VIII. *Description of triumphs*. IX. Of *the ovation, or lesser triumph*. X. Of *the Feciales*.

GREAT actions were soon followed with <sup>I.</sup> rewards, in order to inspire the troops <sup>Military rewards.</sup> with emulation, and at the same time with valour. But the habitude of poverty, which the first Romans had contracted, and the simplicity of their manners, occasioned only valour, and not beneficial rewards, to be annexed to particular actions of valour, that were recompensed with crowns of different kinds. When a general had deserved a triumph, one only of laurel was given him, which he wore on the day of his triumph. But in proportion as that antient simplicity decreased, and the riches of the Commonwealth augmented, magnificence began to appear. For in process of time, the crowns of the generals who triumphed were still of laurel indeed, but enriched with gold wire, and intermixed with leaves of the same metal. Those which the provinces and cities sent them, to serve as ornaments in their triumph, were at first only of laurel; but afterwards they were of pure gold. And this was called *Aurum Coronarium*, which, from being a mere liberality made on the occasion of some victory gained by the Commonwealth, became under the Emperors a kind

U of



of tribute or free-gift, as I have said before in speaking of the revenues of the Emperors. The crown given for the lesser triumph called *Ova-*

Liv. 1. 7. *tion*, was of myrtle: that called *Obsidionalis*, which was given to those who had delivered Roman citizens from some siege, was composed only of grass, called in Latin *gramen*; which common herb, that is to be found almost every where, was chosen, in order to express gratitude for so signal a service upon the spot and without delay; the singular honour annexed to it, making amends for the simplicity of the reward.

Polyb. 1. 6. The crown called *Mural*, was given him who had first mounted the walls of a besieged city: it was adorned all round with little towers, and was of gold, as well as that called *Castrensis*, which in like manner was given only to those who had been the first in forcing the enemy's camp; the ornaments of it represented palisades, in order to express by what it had been deserved. The Dictator Aulus Posthumius was the first that gave a crown of gold as a military reward to a Roman soldier, who had occasioned the forcing of the enemy's camp near the lake of Regillæ. There were also crowns for exploits done by sea; and these were called *Navales*. They were adorned with little beaks of galleys instead of rays; and were given to those who first boarded the enemy's ships in a sea-fight.

Ibid. The *Civic* crown was given to him who had

Tac. 1. 12. saved the life of a citizen in battle: it was made of oaken leaves; and it was necessary that the person whose life had been saved, should attest the fact. The citizen who received it might always wear it; and it was in so much honour at Rome, that when he went to the public games, the Roman Senate and People were obliged

obliged to rise up on his entrance, and he had a place at the Shews amongst the Senators. He was also exempt from all public offices, as was his father, and uncle by his father's side.

These crowns were not the only marks of honour, with which valour was rewarded: they were only annexed to certain particular actions. There were others for such as had also given marks of courage, as belts enriched with gold and silver, bracelets of the same metals, and fine armour. There was also another reward, which, Liv. l. 10: notwithstanding its simplicity and small value, was not the less honourable on that account: this was the wood of a spear, which was called *Hasta pura*.

It retained the same lustre which it had in the Plut. in vit. first times of Rome for many ages. Ensigns Coriol.

were also given sometimes: Augustus made a Suet. in vit. Aug. present of a blue one to Agrippa, after the vi-

ctory which he gained at sea over Sextus Pom-

peius. The horse had either rich horse-armour

given them, or a small horn of silver, which

they wore hanging at their breasts. Statues were

sometimes erected at the public expence, either

in the Capitol, the field of Mars, or some other

place, to perpetuate the memory of those who

had done some great exploit. Conquered lands Liv. l. 10.

and territories were also sometimes distributed Plut. in vit.

amongst the troops, who were dismissed after Cæs. & Syll.

having compleated the term of their service. Tac. l. 14.

During the wars of Pyrrhus and Hannibal, the

\* Mox etiam fractis ætate ac Punica passis  
Pœlia, vel Pyrrhum immanem, gladiosque Molossos,  
Tandem pro multis vix jugera bina dabantur  
Vulneribus. Merces ea sanguinis atque laboris  
Nullis visa unquam meritis minor, aut ingrata  
Curta fides patriæ. ————— *Juv. Sat. XIV.*

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

the expiration of the time of his service, was two acres of land, but that was very much augmented afterwards. Augustus perceiving the prejudice which these distributions of lands did the public, and the farther pernicious consequences they might have, decreed, that for the future the soldiers, who had compleated their term, should be rewarded with money, and fixed that of the Prætorian soldiers at five thousand drachmas; and that of the other troops at three thousand.

II.

*Of military punishments.*

If the Romans were so sensible of the advantages that might result from the care they took to reward valour, they discerned no less the pernicious effects with which too much indulgence, in not punishing cowardice and breach of discipline with the same exactness, might be attended. When the soldiers fled in battle, or had mutinied against their general, they were decimated, as we have said before, and every tenth man upon whom the lot fell, was put to death. Tac. l. 3. Liv. l. 1. Front. l. 4. Frontinus relates, that in Cato's time such Roman soldiers as were caught in a theft, had their right hands cut off, and as to principal persons, blood was only drawn from them, in order to punish them with less rigour. In the Consulship of Scipio Nasica and Decimus Junius, the deserters of the army were publicly whipped, and sold for slaves. The seditions of the soldiery were punished by breaking a legion or

*'Twas then old soldiers cover'd o'er with scars,  
(The marks of Pyrrhus, or the Punic wars)  
Thought all past services rewarded well,  
If to their share at last two acres fell;  
(Their country's frugal bounty:) so of old  
Was blood and life, at a low market sold.*

Mr. J. Dryden, junr.

body

body of troops with infamy. The same was done in respect to a single officer or soldier, who had committed any base action, that did not deserve capital punishment. He was degraded from bearing arms, as unworthy, and for that purpose had the military belt in which his sword hung, taken from him. If he was a Centurion, he was deprived at the same time of the vine-branch, which all the Centurions carried in their hands in the time of the Emperors, and used for chastising the soldiers. In the same manner, when a person would serve no longer, he took off his military belt; and if a Centurion, resigned his staff of vine-branch. If any soldiers quitted their ranks, they were immediately punished by the Centurions with their vine-branches; and if they were strangers, and not free of Rome, they were made to undergo the scourge. When an whole body of troops had behaved with cowardice on some occasion, their wheat was taken from them; they were reduced to live upon barley for a certain time, and were made to encamp without the works of the camp, exposed to the enemy, and sometimes even without swords. If a soldier happened to return from battle without his buckler, or arms, it was deemed a disgrace for him, and did not pass with impunity. If a Tribune was convicted of having stolen some part of the soldiers allowance of corn, he was condemned to die. Even the Consuls and generals of armies were not exempt from punishment, if they had not acted with valour, or done any thing repugnant to the honour of the Commonwealth. This was the case of the Consul Posthumius, who, to save the army, shut up in effect of his ill conduct in the pass called the *Furcæ Caudinæ*, made an

III.

*Degradation from bearing arms.*

IV.

*What was observed on quitting the service.*

Liv. 1. 10

Val. Max.

l. 2. c. 7.

Vell. Pat.

l. 2. c. 1.

V.

*Severity of*

*military*

*discipline.*

Vell. Pat.

l. 2. c. 1.



ignominious accommodation with the Samnites; and also of the Consul Mancinus, who for the disadvantageous treaty which he had made with the Numantines, was sent to them bound hand and foot. This manner of punishing and rewarding with so much exactness, was a certain means to form good troops.

VI.  
*Of the  
triumph.*

And lastly, the most exalted of military honours was the triumph. It was of two kinds, the great and the less: the latter was called *Ovation*, from the word *Ovis*, because only a sheep was sacrificed in it. The use of the triumph began with Rome, as, according to Livy, Romulus her founder was the first that triumphed, after having defeated the Cecinians and Antemnates. Plutarch however ascribes the institution of it to Tarquinius Priscus. One of the first Consuls, Valerius Publicola, had also that honour: and Probus was the last of the Emperors that triumphed. This pomp so full of barbarous and inhuman pride and ostentation was very repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, and in consequence it was abolished by the Christian Emperors. In the time of the Commonwealth, it was granted only to Dictators, Consuls and Prætors. Those who had the command of the armies only by commission, without being invested with any of these dignities, were excluded from it. Under the Emperors, only themselves and their children enjoyed this honour; leaving nothing more to the generals of their armies, except the ornaments of triumph; that is to say, the triumphal robe. This latter distinction itself began to grow very cheap in process of time, from their facility in granting it to persons who had not deserved it in the least. This was a kind of robbery committed by them up-

Val. Max.  
l. 2. c. 8.

on merit, and did more prejudice to the empire, than they imagined : for in removing the motive of that emulation for glory, which had made so many great captains in the time of the Commonwealth, they occasioned their becoming more scarce ; and that want, in the time of the irruptions of the Barbarians into the empire, precipitated, if not determined, its ruin.

The honour of a triumph was not obtained VII.  
for having terminated a civil war, reduced re-<sup>Of the con-</sup>  
bels to obedience, or retaken cities or provin-<sup>ditions ne-</sup>  
ces, which they had conquered, from them. A<sup>cessary to</sup>  
new conquest was necessary to the attainment of<sup>obtaining a</sup>  
it, and that in the victory which the troops of<sup>triumph.</sup>  
the Commonwealth had gained, five thousand<sup>Val. Max.</sup>  
of the enemy at least, and few of the Romans,  
had been left upon the spot. It did not suffice  
for the Tribunes, Centurions, and Quæstors to  
certify this upon oath ; the particular oath of  
him also who demanded the triumph was re-  
quired. He marched to Rome with his army  
to make that demand ; but he was obliged to  
remain without the city, and to divest himself  
of the command of his army ; it being the cus-  
tom that he should not enter the city, till he had  
obtained his demand. The first thing he did  
was to send letters wrapt up in laurel to the Se-  
nate, which contained an account of his victory.  
When the Senate judged that it deserved a tri-  
umph, they decreed him that honour ; but it<sup>Polyb. 1.6.</sup>  
was necessary that decree should be approved by  
the People, though it was the Senate who de-  
creed the money necessary to defray the charges  
of the solemnity, which was celebrated at the  
expence of the State. Till the 304th year of  
Rome indeed, the Senate had been the sole dis-  
pensers of this honour : but at that time, having  
refused

refused the two Consuls Valerius and Horatius the honour of triumphs, in revenge for their having favoured the demands of the People, the Tribune Icilius took advantage of that occasion for extending the power of his office, in laying the demand of those Consuls before the

Liv. l. 1. People, who decreed it, notwithstanding the opposition of the Senate, in gratitude for their services. They often granted the same favour afterwards without the participation of the Senate. At length, when the People were once become the dispensers of that honour, their Tribunes knew how to render their consent to it necessary. For if the person, who had demanded a triumph of the Senate, to whom however it was always necessary to apply first, was not agreeable to the People, their Tribunes did not fail of a pretext for preventing the execution of the decree of the Senate, either by opposition, refusing to propose it to the People, or even citing him who was to triumph before the People, in order to make him give an account of his conduct; which at least retarded the execution of the Senate's decree, till he had cleared himself of the accusation formed against him. In this manner did these magistrates take advantage of all occasions that arose for augmenting their own power at the expence of the Senate's: but what rendered the People's consent absolutely necessary, was, that in order to do the person who triumphed more honour, it was judged proper to confer the command of Rome upon him for the day of that solemnity, which the Senate could not grant alone and without the People. However the power given him upon the day of his triumph, was not so absolute, but that the Tribunes of the People had still some

some authority over him, as appears from what Valerius Maximus relates of the vestal Claudia, Val. Max. l. 5. c. 4. who being informed that the Tribunes of the People intended to interrupt the triumph of her father Claudius, whilst he was in procession with all the pomp of that ceremony, and to make him shamefully descend from his chariot, broke through the press to approach her father, immediately ascended his chariot, accompanied him to the Capitol, and by that means secured him from the insult the Tribunes designed him; for none were permitted to lay hands upon a vestal, except the great Pontiff. After the day for the ceremony was fixed, the general, who was to triumph, made preparations for rendering his entry as splendid and magnificent as possible. It is easy to believe, that the first VIII. triumphs had in them much of the simplicity of Descrip- tion of triumphs. the early times, and of the little riches of the Triumph. conquered people; but that it was not the same, Scip. Afr. when the Romans had carried their arms into in Appian. de Bell. Lybic. Asia and Africa, from whence they brought off Triumph. the riches of the conquerors even of the East Pomp. and South; which served to exalt the pomp of ibid. triumphs, of which the splendor depended prin- Plut. in vit. P. cipally upon the rich spoils of the conquered Æmil. people. It may be said, that of all the antient Joseph. shews none were so pompous, so affecting, so De Tri- ump Vest. pafian. & Tit. soothing, or could better inspire the love of glory, than that of the Roman triumphs. The victor, at sun-rise, put on the robe of triumph, called *Palmata*, because antiently it was enriched with certain ornaments of the breadth of the Roman measure *Palmus*; but in the flourishing times of the Commonwealth it was of cloth of gold with a purple ground. It was called also *Prætecta*, because it had the same form,



Plin. 1.15.  
c. 15.

Suet. in  
vit. Nero.

form, and over it was a mantle or robe, called *Toga picta*, which was of purple, embroidered with figures of gold. The triumpher dressed in this robe, and crowned with laurel, of which he held a branch in his right hand, but more usually of palm, made a short harangue to the People, and to his soldiers, assembled without the city. He then distributed his presents and part of the enemy's spoils to those who had behaved valiantly, which his officers and soldiers, after having displayed in this ceremony, kept with great care, as constituting the principal ornament of their houses. In the mean time some Senators, preceded by Lictors with their fasces, surrounded with laurel, began the march, followed by trumpets and other instruments of music. Next came carriages full of helmets cuirasses, bucklers, swords, pikes, darts, javelins, bows and quivers full of arrows; in a word, all the richest and finest arms taken from the enemy, which seemed mingled confusedly, though disposed with art, and in such a manner, that the motion of the carriages, making them strike against each other, formed by their clashing together, a sound of war highly suitable to this martial solemnity. Other carriages followed, in which were the plans of the cities and forts that had been taken, represented in gilt wood, wax, or even silver, with inscriptions in large letters; and great pictures, in which the battle and attacks of places were painted. If there were any statues, vases, or paintings, of value, whether as to the materials or workmanship, they were certainly exhibited on this occasion; as were representations of the rivers, mountains, extraordinary plants, and even Gods of the conquered people. These representations  
either

either in painting or wax, were borne on a kind of frames by young soldiers crowned with laurel ; and there were persons who carried tablets or scrolls at the end of long staves, which gave the explanation of them. If there were animals in a conquered country, that were not known in Italy, they did not fail to make them appear in this pomp, without forgetting the other spoils of the conquered Kings, as gold and silver plate, singular curiosities, money coined, and ingots, which were carried either on frames, or in vases, by young soldiers. Next appeared the white bulls, which were to be sacrificed, covered with trappings of purple fringed with gold, crowned with flowers with their horns gilt, and attended by the sacrificers naked to the waist, and crowned with laurel, carrying axes in their hands to sacrifice them, and followed by the priests who were to assist in that ceremony. Then came either on carriages or Liv. l. 49. frames the crowns of gold sent to the general who triumphed by cities, to do him honour, and to express their joy for his victory. In the early times these crowns were only laurel, as we have said before. After these crowns appeared the Kings or Generals who had been taken, with their heads shaved as a mark of their slavery, and laden with chains of iron, silver or gold, according to the times and the riches of the spoils. We find in the triumph of Scipio Africanus, described by Appianus Alexandrinus, that with these unfortunate captives there was a buffoon, dressed in a long robe, bordered with gold fringes, and laden with chains, bracelets and strings of jewels, who in his words and actions mimicked those miserable prisoners, to divert the spectators. But it is probable so entirely

tirely barbarous a custom was abolished ; for in the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, described by Plutarch, no mention is made of it, no more than in that of Vespasian described at large by the historian Josephus. When the prisoners of war arrived before the Capitol, they were carried to prison, where their chiefs and captains were immediately put to death. Next to the prisoners came several of the principal officers of the army, and then the victor in his Car, preceded by trumpets, and attended by his Lictors crowned with laurel, carrying the fasces adorned also with laurel. Before and behind him came persons carrying censers, in which the most exquisite perfumes were burning. His relations and friends crowned in the same manner with branches of laurel in their hands, walked before and on each side of his chariot, in which he placed his children with him, as Paulus Æmilius did. His chariot was of ivory adorned with relievos, and enriched with gilding, or even with gold. There were some of solid silver chased and embossed, of which the excellency of the work much exalted the value of the matter. During a certain time, there was a slave \* behind the person who triumphed standing

\* Quid si vidisset Prætorem in curribus altis  
Extantem, & medio sublimem in pulvere circi  
In tunica Jovis, & pictæ Sarrana ferentem  
Ex humeris aulææ togæ, magnæque coronæ  
Tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit ulla ?  
Quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus, & sibi Consul  
Ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.

Juv. Sat. X.

*What had he done, had he beheld on high  
Our Prætor seated in mock majesty ;  
His chariot rolling o'er the dusty place,  
While with dumb pride, and a set formal face,*

*He*

ing upright ; who held over his head the Del-  
phic crown of laurel, adorned with gold wire, Plin. l. 33. c. 1.  
and intermingled with leaves of gold. But this  
was afterwards changed, and instead of the  
slave, a gilt figure was placed upon the back of  
the chariot, holding a crown of laurel over the  
victor's head with one hand, and a palm in the  
other. The Emperors instead of this crown of  
laurel, had one of gold, which some of them  
adorned with precious stones. During the Com-  
monwealth it was long a custom, as Pliny tells Id. l. 33. c. 7.  
us, that every thing of the victor's body that  
appeared, should be painted red, in imitation of  
the ceremony practised in respect to the statue of  
Jupiter Capitolinus, which care was taken to  
rub with vermilion every festival day : but this  
was suppressed. Before the time of the Empe-  
rors, the chariot of the person who triumphed  
was usually drawn by four white horses abreast,  
which he drove himself, or at least held the  
reins. Some medals represent them with six  
horses abreast : and some, as Pompey, caused  
them by way of distinction to be drawn by ele-  
phants ; others by lions, tigers, or other wild  
beasts, which had been prepared expressly for  
this purpose. Aurelian, in the triumph wherein Fla. Vop. in vit. Aurel.  
Zenobia was a captive, had his chariot drawn

*He moves, in the dull ceremonial track,  
With Jove's embroider'd coat upon his back ?  
A sute of hangings had not more oppress'd  
His shoulders, than that long laborious vest.  
An heavy gewgaw ( call'd a crown ) that spread  
About his temples, drown'd his narrow head :  
And would have crush'd him with the massy freight,  
But that a sweating slave sustain'd the weight :  
A slave in the same chariot seen to ride,  
To mortify the mighty madman's pride.*

Dryden.

by



by rain-deer, which are animals of the North, much resembling stags. They had before been used to draw the chariot of the King of the Goths, whom Aurelian had conquered. It is observed also, that in the time of the Commonwealth, the victor wore an iron ring on his finger in the same manner as slaves did, to admonish him not to be proud, and that fortune which raised him above others might reduce him to the condition of a slave. Caius Marius, in his triumph over Jugurtha, had in like manner a ring of iron on his finger; but he afterwards changed that custom, and wore only gold ones in his other triumphs. It is said also, that there was a slave behind the person who triumphed, that admonished him from time to time to remember he was a man. If by his conquests he had delivered any Roman citizens from slavery, they followed his chariot immediately, with their heads shaved and caps on, to signify their new freedom. The Consuls with the other magistrates, and the whole Senate, followed on foot; and the march closed with the officers of the army, and the soldiers armed and crowned with laurel. Those who had received marks of honour in evidence of their bravery, did not fail to adorn themselves with them. They marched with an air of joy and gaiety, some crying *Io Triumphe*, and others singing military songs in praise of the general, or satirical verses, full of raillery against him; for this day was privileged, and they were allowed to say all they pleased without being called to an account for it. This entry was made through the gate called Capena, along the street called *via Triumphalis*, from being that  
through

Plin. l. 33.  
c. 1

Juv. Sat.  
10. loc.  
cit.

Liv. l. 10.  
Vell. Pat.  
l. 6. c. 67.  
Suet. in  
vit. Cæs.

through which the persons who triumphed went to the Capitol, where the pomp ended. Care was taken to erect several triumphal arches in this street. When the victor arrived at the foot of the Capitol, he quitted his chariot and triumphal robe, sacrificed the white bulls to Jupiter, and laid the palm or laurel, which he held in his hand, and those of his Lictors, at his feet. It is observed, that from the time of Augustus, the person who triumphed carried the ornaments of triumph, and the spoils, to the temple of Mars the avenger. He also gave largesses to the People : after which began the feast made at the expence of the public, to which all the principal persons of the Commonwealth were invited, except the Consuls, who were even desired not to be there, in order that the person who triumphed might have precedency at this feast, which could not be, if they had been present.

Tac. l. 2.  
Appian de  
Bell. Civ.  
l. 2.  
Plut.  
Quæst.  
Rom. 80.  
Val. Max.  
l. 2. c. 8.

There were several triumphs, of which the pomp continued during three days. The naval triumph was attended with the same preparations and ceremonies. One of the privileges of those who had triumphed, was to have a right to wear the crown of laurel at the public shews. The Senate passed a decree in favour of Julius Cæsar, when he was Dictator, by which he was permitted to wear a crown of laurel always, even in the Senate. It is observed, that of all the decrees which flattery caused to be made in his favour, none gave him more satisfaction than this ; because he was bald, and this crown covered that deformity. The last triumph of the Roman Emperors was that of Probus, which Crinitus describes after Vopiscus. It was not, properly speaking, a triumph, but only the diversion

Dio Cass.  
l. 43.

version of hunting several sorts of beasts, which the Emperor gave the people for several days in the Circus, and which ended with a combat of gladiators, composed of part of the prisoners of war whom he had taken.

IX. As to the lesser triumph, called *Ovation*, it required much less preparation: for the person who triumphed made his entrance on foot and not on horseback, and only to the sound of flutes, not of trumpets. He was preceded by the soldiery with olive branches in their hands, and was dressed in a white robe bordered with purple, with a crown on his head, to imply that the action had not been bloody. The Senate, Knights, and principal Plebeians assisted at it, and the march ended at the Capitol, where rams were sacrificed. The first who had the honour of this triumph, was the Consul Postumius Tubertus, after having defeated the Sabines about the 253d year of Rome. This honour was granted to those who had gained some advantage either over the enemies of the State, which had cost little, and had not terminated the war, or over enemies of little consideration, and unworthy of the Roman arms, as pirates, or else when a war had not been declared in all the forms.

X. It was the custom of the Romans under the Kings, and during a great length of time under the Commonwealth, not to undertake a war, without having first sent heralds, called *Feciales*, to demand satisfaction for the wrong which they supposed to have been done them: without that precaution, the war would not have been deemed just, and they would have deduced very bad omens from it. When they were refused the

satisfaction they demanded, the same *Feciales* declared war in the name of the Roman People; and as a mark of that declaration they threw a bloody javelin, tipped with iron or burnt at the end, into the frontier of the enemy's country. King Numa instituted these heralds or priests; Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 19. for they acted in the capacity of both. Their colleague consisted of twenty, at the head of which was a chief called *Pater patratus*. Plut. Quæst. Rom. 62. The laws of war, which was never made without consulting them, were deposited in their hands. They ratified truces and treaties of peace, by sacrificing an hog, which they loaded with curses, desiring that those who infringed the treaties might be struck in the same manner; and it was upon this occasion that they discharged the function of priests. This religious ceremony made them consider the war which they undertook as sacred and very just; at least it prejudiced the People to think so, and animated them with vengeance, in the hope that the Gods would favour their cause, and that consequently they could not fail of success. This idea strongly implanted in the minds of the soldiers, might contribute considerably to victory. To know how to employ religion for the success of their enterprizes, was an effect of their usual policy, especially in the beginning of their greatness; for they were exact observers of the appearances of justice no longer than till they perceived themselves superior in force to all their neighbours, as has been already observed. Numa, in instituting the college of *Feciales*, and all the other ceremonies of religion, shewed himself no less a politician than his predecessor Romulus, in the form of government which he



gave his little state; the religion of the Romans having been instituted only to soften and correct the disposition of the People. Polybius confirms this clearly enough, in saying, that if a Commonwealth could be formed, that consisted solely of wise and reasonable people, the many superstitions which had been introduced amongst the Romans, would not be necessary, and that they had been placed in such consideration only upon account of the People. And indeed, all the persons of sense amongst them, acknowledged the vanity of a religion, which degraded the Divinity so much, in attributing all the vices of man to him, and formed a different idea of it from the common people, as we find in Cicero's treatise *De Natura Deorum*, and elsewhere. The actions of some persons are new proofs of what I advance. We may judge of this from what the Consul Claudius Pulcher did, who to comply with the vulgar superstition, consulted augury before he gave battle at sea. Having ordered the coop, in which the sacred chickens were kept, to be brought to him, he caused grain to be thrown to them, as was the custom in taking the augury, and seeing that they did not move to eat; he threw coop and chickens into the sea, saying, *If they wont eat, let them drink*. He does not seem by this action to have given much faith to the science of the augurs, of which the Romans in general were however such scrupulous observers. But those who were at the head of the government, knew how to use it with dexterity for giving the necessary turn to the disposition of the People. Policy was so much the foundation and end of

Val. Max.

l. i. c. 4.

of their religion, that they adopted the Gods of the different nations which they subjected to their empire, in order to render their yoke the lighter, and to accustom them to it by gentle methods. It is true that they all agreed in one general principle, which was idolatry; and that there was no difference between them, except in the objects of worship, and superstitious uses.

## BOOK THE FOURTH.

*Of the religion of the Romans; of the different Shews, and of the customs observed in them.*

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## CHAPTER I.

- I. *Of the religion of the Romans.* II. *Of the Pontiffs.* III. *Of the Augurs.* IV. *Of the Aruspices.* V. *Of the Vestals.* VI. *Functions of the Vestals.* VII. *Punishment of the Vestals, for breaking their vow of virginity.* VIII. *Privileges of the Vestals.* IX. *Liberty of the Vestals.* X. *Superb train of the Vestals.*

I. *Of the religion of the Romans.* **T**HE Romans, as well as the Greeks, acknowledged different classes of Divinities. The Gods of the first class, who, as well as all the rest, depended on Fate or Destiny; those of an inferior order, and all the other minor Divinities; those who presided over places; those which they ascribed to every Being, and even to most actions, that were so many *Genii*, to whom they ascribed either the masculine or feminine sex, and rendered a particular worship, according to the nature of the thing, the need they believed they had of it, or the caprice of their devotion. In a word, the number

St. Aug. de civit. Dei.

ber of Gods was so great at Rome, that, alluding to the statues erected in honour of Divinities, and of persons who had rendered services to the Commonwealth, it was said, the inanimate inhabitants of that city were more numerous than the animate, though the latter amounted to several millions.

Rome in its beginning had no idols, according to Plutarch; for Numa Pompilius had given them so sublime an idea of the Divinity, that they considered every representation of him under an human form as sacrilege, saying that men could attain to the knowledge of the Divinity only by the understanding. Accordingly, during almost two hundred years, no figure or painting of any Divinities was seen at Rome, though temples in which they were worshipped were erected to them. They had the use of idols, or statues of the Gods, either from the Tuscans or Greeks, from whom they imbibed all their superstitions: but that multitude of Divinities still augmented, when of all the Emperors that died they made so many Gods. This was the effect of a shameful flattery, which they carried so far as to admit, during their lives, into the number of Divinities, not only virtuous Princes, but even those who were notorious for their vices.

All these Divinities had their peculiar Priests, who depended on the college of Pontiffs. The number of the latter was fifteen, of whom the eight first had the title of Great Pontiffs, and the seven other *Minor* Pontiffs, though they made together but one Body, of which the Chief was called Supreme Pontiff, or *Pontifex Maximus*. In the first institution made by Numa, they were but four, elected out of the Patrici-



ans ; four others were afterwards adopted, and were all Plebeians. Their number was augmented to fifteen by Sylla the Dictator ; which subsisted till the Emperor Theodosius, who entirely abolished them. This college superintended every thing that related to religion, and took cognizance of all the differences which it occasioned. It also regulated the worship and ceremonies, and explained the mysteries of religion. It was also a part of their duty to write the Roman history in a simple style, year by year. The Pontiffs were considered as sacred persons ; and by way of distinction took place of all the magistrates. They presided in all the games of the Circus, Amphitheatre, and Theatre, exhibited in honour of some Divinity. When there was any vacancy in their college, it was filled up by the person elected by plurality of voices ; which continued the custom under the Commonwealth for the space of six hundred and fifty years. The office of *Pontifex Maximus* was conferred in the same manner, till Domitius Ænobarbus, Tribune of the People, transferred that right to the People assembled by Tribes : but the Emperor Augustus restored to this college the right of electing their colleagues. These dignities were conferred only upon persons of the first distinction, as well as that of Supreme Pontiff, which office during the whole time of the Commonwealth was filled only by persons of the first rank. It was of so much importance from the extent of its authority, that the Emperors assumed it to themselves, from whenceforth it always remained attached to their persons.

III. The first sacerdotal dignity next to the Pontiffs, was that of the Augurs, which also formed a col-

Liv. l. 10.

Dio Cass.  
l. 53.Vell. Pat.  
l. 2. c. 12.Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

Of the Augurs.

a college consisting of fifteen. It owed its institution to Romulus, who at first created only four of them, of the order of the Patricians. It was afterwards composed of five, who were Plebeians. This college had also the same fate Liv. l. 10. as that of the Pontiffs, as well in respect to number as the right of election, which the Tribune Ænobarbus transferred from them to the People, and which was restored to them by Augustus, upon condition that the persons elected should have the approbation of the Prince. This dignity was in the higher consideration, because the Romans, who were extremely superstitious, scarce undertook any thing, without having first consulted the Augurs, in order to know the will of the Gods, not so much through the desire of conforming to it, as to be informed whether they should succeed in their enterprizes : for the Augurs were looked upon as the interpreters of the Gods. They judged of it from the flight and singing of birds, and the manner in which the sacred chickens eat their corn, which, if greedily, was a sign of success and good fortune, but if they would not eat, it denoted the contrary : they also used all the objects that occurred for the same purpose. It was a mere cheat to amuse the People, as well as the *Aruspices*, who were also ministers of their superstitions, that judged of the good or bad success of enterprizes, by inspecting the entrails of victims that were sacrificed. It was for this reason that the Pontiffs offered no sacrifice, without having an *Aruspex* with them to examine the entrails of the victim, and give his judgment upon them. The imposture of both the one and the other was so well known by people of sense, that Cato said, he could not conceive

IV.  
*Aruspices.*

how the Augurs or *Aruspices* could look at each other without laughing. Besides these ministers of religion, of which we have just spoke, there was also an order of Priestesses, called *Vestals*, from the name of the Goddess *Vesta*, to whose service they were consecrated. This order was in great consideration, and the more respected, because it was the guardian with whom the sacred pledge was deposited, to which the Roman superstition had annexed the safety and duration of the State. It was Numa Pompilius, who having caused a temple to be erected at Rome to the Goddess *Vesta*, instituted that order, which was maintained at the public expence. Their origin was still more antient than that city, as the mother of Romulus and Remus was a Vestal. There were at first but four; Tarquinius Priscus added two more, at which number they were fixed ever after. As it was necessary that they should be virgins, they were taken at an age not suspected, which was between six and ten, after which they were not admitted. It was the Pontifex Maximus who received them; and when they did not offer themselves voluntarily to fill up a vacant place, he made choice of twenty children of the age required. But it was necessary, that they should not only be exempt from all corporeal defects, but even have some beauty, and be of an ingenious Roman family; for those of all other cities were excluded. They were made to draw lots, and she upon whom it fell was admitted.

As few parents of distinguished birth were much inclined to offer their daughters to be Vestals, because they apprehended the dangerous consequences of so long a continence, Augustus

V.  
Of the Vestals.

Plut. in vit.  
Num.  
Dion Hal.  
l. 2. c. 17.

Plut. in vit.  
Rom.

Aul. Gell.  
l. 1. c. 2.

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

gustus made a regulation, by which the daughters of freed-men were admitted into this order.

They were made to take a vow of virginity for thirty years, after which they were at liberty to marry if they pleased. The ten first years Plut in vit. Num. were employed in learning the duties and ceremonies of their office; the ten following in exercising them; and the ten last in teaching them to novices. The eldest of the Vestals, who was called the Great Vestal by way of eminence, had an absolute superiority over the rest. As soon as a child was admitted a Vestal, her head was shaved as a sign of her being made free, as was the custom in respect to slaves whom their master set at liberty: for from thenceforth she was no longer under the jurisdiction of her father, and young as she was had power to make her will, and dispose of her fortune as she thought fit: but if she died a Vestal without having made her will, the Order inherited it.

Their habit had nothing gloomy and austere in it: it was a kind of white vestment, over which they wore a long and full purple robe or mantle, that hung usually most over one shoulder, in order to have the other arm at liberty. Their head-dress was as particular: it came no lower than the ears, and discovered the whole face. They fastened ribbands to it, which some tied under the chin. In process of time, they made their hair serve for the ornament of their heads, curling and adjusting it in such a manner as they judged most proper for exalting their beauty.

Their function was to make vows, pray, and VI. sacrifice, for the prosperity and preservation of Functions of the Vestals. the State, and to keep the Palladium, which was considered as the sacred pledge of the duration Herod l. 1.



tion of the Empire, as also the sacred fire, which they were obliged to keep perpetually burning in the temple of Vesta, and preserved in earthen vessels. Those who suffered this fire, which should have been eternal, to go out through negligence or otherwise, were punished with a whip by the *Pontifex Maximus*, who alone had a right to chastise them, and who with the college of Pontiffs was their natural judge. This accident was deemed very ominous. When it happened, Rome was in so great a consternation, that all affairs ceased for that day. The custom was to re-kindle this fire only with the rays of the sun through a burning-glass. But when any one was convicted of not having kept her vow of virginity, she was punished with a peculiar kind of death, as well as the accomplice of her crime. He was whipped till he expired under the lashes; and as for her, a kind of cave was dug in a part of the city near the gate *Collina*, into which, after a small bed with a lighted lamp, a little bread, water, milk, and oil, were placed in it, she was made to descend by a ladder that was immediately taken away. The entrance of the cave was afterwards closed, which served her for a grave, and where she soon after died of hunger.

VII.  
Punishment of the  
Vestals for  
breaking  
their vow  
of virginity.  
Plut. in vit.  
Num.

Plut. Qu.  
Rom. 96.

The consternation of the city augmented exceedingly at this time, the superstition of the Romans making them believe, that the State was threatened with some great calamity. The whole city was in mourning that day: the shops were shut; a mournful silence reigned universally, which argued their profound sadness. It is observed, that during the space of about a thousand years, which this Order subsisted, from Numa down to Theodosius the Great, who abo-

lished

lished it with the Pagan priesthood in general, only eighteen suffered this punishment. If the faults of this Order were punished with so much rigor and severity, the prerogatives and honours it enjoyed were also very great and extraordinary: for if any one had dared to offer a Vestal the least insult, he would have been punished with death. The respect paid them was so great, that when the principal magistrates, and even the Consuls, met them, they gave them place, and made their Lictors bow the *fascēs* to them. They also had Lictors to clear the way for them, after violence had been offered to a Vestal returning at night from supper in the city. When this Order, by the augmentation of their revenues, was in a condition to appear with splendor, they never went abroad without being carried in litters.

Amongst the privileges which had been granted them, they had one peculiar to themselves; for if they happened to meet some criminal carrying to execution in their way, he was immediately pardoned, provided the Vestal affirmed, that mere chance had occasioned it. Their evidence was received in like manner in the courts of justice, and the opinion conceived of their probity caused it to be respected. When any difference arose between persons of the first rank, recourse was had to them for accommodating it. Wills were deposited in their hands, as in a sacred and inviolable *asylum*. The right of interment in the city was conferred upon them by way of honour, which was very seldom granted, even to those who had done great services to the State.

Continence being considered in the Pagan world as a virtue very difficult to practise, to

VIII.  
*Privileges of the Vestals.*  
Plut. in vit. Num.

IX.  
*Liberty of softening the Vestals.*

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

X.  
*Superb  
train of the  
Vestals.*

soften the rigor of it, the Vestals were allowed abundance of liberty. For they could receive men at home in the day-time, and women at all times ; they could go to supper abroad with their friends and relations ; and had liberty to be present at the Shews, where they had distinguished places. And if they were obliged to wear a peculiar kind of habit, they made themselves amends by a studied neatness, and the magnificence of their equipage. St. Ambrose tells us, that when they appeared in public, they were attended by a numerous train of domestics of both sexes : but this was not till after that Order had enriched itself by the pious donations of the Romans, who often left legacies to the Vestals in particular, and enabled them to support that excessive pomp and luxury, which rose and augmented in proportion with the Roman power. For though from the first they were considered as sacred persons, that distinction was not sustained by the splendor, which it had in process of time, through the indigence of the Order and of the State itself in those early days.

CHAPTER II.

I. *Of the Duumviri who kept the books of the Sybils.* II. *Of the Quindecimviri.* III. *Of the worship paid to the Gods.* IV. *Origin of the public games.* V. *Public thanksgivings for good successes.* VI. *Of the sacred games.* VII. *Funeral games.* VIII. *Games of the Circus.* IX. *Description of the Circus's.* X. *Chariot-races.* XI. *Horse-races.* XII. *Foot-races.* XIII. *Of dancing.* XIV. *Of the Pyrrhic dance.*

NEXT to the dignities of religion, the most distinguished of those which related to them, was that of the Duumviri, whom Tarquin, the last King of the Romans, created expressly for keeping the Sybil's books, which he had bought. Thus this dignity was more antient than the Commonwealth itself. It subsisted as long as Paganism, not having been abolished, till the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, when an end was put to it with the rest of the Pagan superstitions. These officers became so much the more important amongst the Romans, as they imagined the preservation of the State depended in some measure upon the oracles confided to their care. For, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, they had nothing so sacred, nor nothing which they kept so religiously, as the oracles of the Sybils, contained in these books. They were consulted by order of the Senate when the city was afflicted with plague, famine, or agitated with seditions; when the State had experienced some great misfortune; when prodigies appeared, or the auguries

I.  
Duumviri  
who kept  
the books  
of the Sy-  
bils.

Val. Max.  
l. 4. c. 14.



guries were difficult to explain. This was the function of these officers ; but they were not permitted to consult these mysterious books, except by an order of the Senate, who besides added some public ministers to assist them in it. It was the business of the *Duumviri* to report to the Senate what had been found in them, and to propose the means for appeasing the wrath of the Gods, in order to avert the threatened calamities from the Roman People, by offering the sacrifices and prayers directed in these books. This dignity was for life : it exempted those who possessed it from carrying arms, and all other civil offices. Tarquin created only two at first, who were of the Patrician order, which was continued under the Commonwealth, till the 386th year of Rome, when the Tribunes of the People prevailed that those officers should be ten in number, of whom half should be elected out of the Plebeians, and then they were called *Decemviri*, upon account of their number. Sylla the Dictator afterwards added five, which occasioned their being called *Quindecimviri*. Julius Cæsar added one more ; and Augustus afterwards, being impowered by the Senate to add as many as he thought fit to the sixteen, the number amounted to forty or sixty ; though according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, only the *Duumviri* were permitted to select and consult the books of the Sybils. We find however in the life of Aurelian by Vopiscus, that the Pontiffs sometimes consulted them ; perhaps they were also invested with this dignity of *Quindecimviri*, or that power had been granted them.

Liv. l. 6.  
& 10.

II.  
*Of the*  
*Quinde-*  
*cimviri.*

Dio Cass.  
l. 51.

The worship of all the Divinities of Paganism was not confined to sacrificing animals in honour of them, wherein those offered to the celestial Gods were white, and those to the infernal black ; but it consisted also in public holidays, on which feasts were sometimes made in honour of the divinities, that served at the same time for diversions. Policy knew how to adapt itself in this manner to the genius and character of the nation, and to amuse the People, when it had no longer any enemies to fear.

Almost all the public games celebrated at Rome were solemnized in effect of vows, which the Romans had made to some Divinity in some imminent danger or considerable misfortune. Thus after the defeat of Varus in Germany, Augustus promised Jupiter to cause games worthy of his greatness to be celebrated, if he repaired that loss. It was at these times the devotion of the Romans distinguished itself most. We see that through the darkness of Paganism they acknowledged the impotence of mankind against the wrath of heaven, as they endeavoured to appease it by ceremonies, prayers and supplications. Polybius relates, that after the loss of the battle of Cannæ, the consternation was so great at Rome, that all the matrons ran to the temples of the Gods to implore them to preserve it from the misfortunes, with which it was threatened ; and that prostrate at the feet of those divinities they swept the pavements of the temples with their hair. He observes further, that it was a common custom with them to do so in times of calamity.

The Romans seemed to acknowledge the Divinity no less in their good successes, by the thanksgivings they rendered on those occasions.

For good success.

For in all the considerable advantages which the Commonwealth gained over the enemy, the Senate never fails to decree prayers and processions in all the temples of their Gods, even for several days together, according as those advantages were more or less great. The Senate, under the Emperors, often decreed them out of base flattery, to applaud their crimes, and return the Gods thanks for them: their pictures and statues were carried in these processions. Ideas that suited the Divinity so little, agreed perfectly with the extravagance of the worship they usually paid him, wherein nothing entered but what was adapted to flattering all the passions, even the grossest; to which they believed their Gods were sensible as well as men. It was for this reason, that they imagined nothing could be more agreeable to them than these games: and they were the more apt to be confirmed in this opinion, as it suited their own natural inclination for all Shews. Those which they called the great, or the Roman, games, had been instituted on occasion of a vow made by the Dictator Aulus Postumius, when he was upon the point of giving the Latines battle, who had revolted in order to reinstate Tarquin upon the throne. The pomp of these games is amply described in the seventh book of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, chapter the third. The Scenic games were also an effect of a vow made to Jupiter Capitolinus, in the 387th year of Rome, in the time of a plague. Such was the origin of the games of the Circus, theatre and amphitheatre, which were all included under the general name, of the *sacred games*, because relative to some Divinity; and *funeral games*, because celebrated in honour of some person of distinction after

Liv. 1. 10.

Tac. l. 14.  
& 15.Liv. 1. 4.  
& 7.VI.  
*Sacred*  
*games.*  
VII.  
*Funeral*  
*games.*

after their death, to the manes of whom they supposed that those games were agreeable, as well as useful for appeasing the wrath of the infernal Gods.

Those of the Circus were foot, horse, or chariot-races. There were several Circus's at Rome. VIII. Games of the Circus.  
 These were vast edifices in the form of an oblong square, of which one of the ends was made round, and the other, from whence the racers started, much less so. IX. Description of the Circus's.  
 Along the midst of it ran a kind of continued pedestal the greatest part of its length, which rose some feet above the ground, and divided it almost in two equal parts, upon which stood in a row the figures of some divinities, with altars very near them. At the end of this stone-work the bounds or goals were placed at a sufficient distance for turning easily round them. But in the great Circus, which was between the Palatine and Aventine hills, the middle was adorned with an obelisk of great height. This Circus was dedicated to the sun, and is said to have been two thousand one hundred and eighty-seven feet in length, and nine hundred and sixty broad. The circumference of this structure within side was covered with a wall in form of a key, at the foot of which ran a canal full of water, of the breadth of ten feet; and above this wall, in form of an amphitheatre, rose seats that were continued quite round the pile, on which the spectators sat, but exposed to the weather; for these Circus's had no roofs. That of which we are speaking could contain an hundred and fifty thousand people, and, according to some authors, above two hundred thousand. As it was consecrated to the sun, it was the custom,



X.  
Chariot-  
races.

custom, when races were ran in honour of him, that the chariots should be drawn by four horses abreast; and when of the moon, only with two. All the chariots made use of in racing had more commonly two wheels than four. The swiftness \* of the horses alone was not sufficient for carrying the prize, if it was not seconded by the address of the driver: for it was necessary to run seven times round those boundaries, and to take great care in turning not to come too near them, lest the chariot should be dashed in pieces against them: At the same time in keeping too far from them, they ran the risque of being cut out by a competitor, who knew how to take the advantage of that interval. The drivers of these chariots were generally slaves, though there were times when persons of the highest quality drove them to please some Emperors, who were fond of these races, as Emperor Nero. The charioteers, for so these drivers were called, were divided into four bands, distinguished by the colours of their habits, as white, red, blue, and green. The Emperor Domitian, who delighted much in these games, added two more to them, the gold and the purple. The people often espou-

Suet. in  
vit. Neron.  
Tac. l. 15.

Suet. in  
vit. Dom.  
Tertull. de  
Spectac.  
c. 6.

Tac. l. 14.

\* Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum  
Collegisse juvat: metaque fervidis  
Evitata rotis, palmaque nobilis  
Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos.

Hor. L. I. Od. i.

*Some view with a delighted eye  
Thick clouds of dust around 'em fly;  
While their contending chariots roll,  
And nicely shun th' Olympic goal.  
Where races won, and palms bestow'd  
Exalt a monarch to a God.*

fed

fed \* one of these bands with so much heat, as sometimes occasioned great tumults.

Amongst the horse-races ran in the Circus, <sup>XI.</sup> there were some of a singular kind: these were <sup>Horse-races.</sup> horsemen who rode horses without saddles, leading one in their hand, upon which they leaped <sup>Suet. in vit. Cæs.</sup> as they ran, changing horse often in the race, after the manner of the Numidians. In the foot-races, there were persons who ran compleatly armed, as if going to battle, in order to shew their strength and agility the better.

The foot-race was one of the five sorts of <sup>XII.</sup> games called *Gymnic*, which were also practised <sup>Foot-races.</sup> in the Circus. The four others were Boxing, Wrestling, throwing the Discus or quoit, and Dancing. The Boxers, as well as the Wrestlers or *Athletæ*, for that name was common to both, fought stark-naked, except the former, who wore only a kind of little drawers, and because they stripped themselves in this manner to be the fitter for battle, and the more active, these games were called *Gymnic*, from a Greek word which signifies naked. The Boxers, so called

\* Totam hodie Romam Circus capit: & fragor aurem  
Percutit; eventum viridis quo colligo panni.  
Nam si deficeret, mœstam attonitamque videres  
Hanc urbem, veluti Cannarum in pulvere victis  
Consulibus. ————— *Juv. Sat. XI.*

*This day all Rome (if I may be allow'd,  
Without offence to such a num'rous croud,  
To say all Rome) will in the Circus sweat;  
Ecchoes already do their shouts repeat:  
Methinks I hear the cry — Away, away,  
The Green have won the honour of the day.  
Oh, should these sports be but one year forborn,  
Rome would in tears her lov'd diversion mourn;  
For that would now a cause of sorrow yield,  
Great as the loss of Cannæ's fatal field.*

Congreve.  
because

Suet. in  
vit. Calig.  
Montfauc.  
Antiq.

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.

because they fought with their fists, were of two kinds, those who fought with their bare fists, or those whose hands were armed with a kind of gauntlets made of thongs of strong leather. These were *Cestiphori*, because this kind of armour or gauntlet was called *Cestus*. This last kind of combat was rude, scarce ever terminating without the death of one of the two combatants. As to the Wrestlers, they combated naked, and rubbed themselves with oil before they entered the lists, that they might not easily be laid hold on. This kind of combat consisted at least as much in address as force, and was not so cruel as the other. The victory was adjudged to him who had thrown his antagonist, and continued his mastery over him. There were people whose profession it was to teach these exercises: this last was so much in vogue, that it was not only practised in the public games, but in houses; for people exercised themselves at Wrestling in the galleries of the baths. As to the *Discus*, it was a kind of quoit, proper to exercise the arm, and render it stronger. It was round and flat, very heavy, made of stone, lead, or brass; he that threw it highest or farthest, according to agreement, won. The *Athletæ* did not confine themselves only to Wrestling; they exercised themselves also in leaping; and he who leaped farthest was the victor. But as for the Dancing of the Romans, we have no very distinct idea of it: all that we know of it is, that they did dance, and that one of their dances was called *the Pyrrhic Dance*, which was a military one. It was danced in arms, and the actions of fighting were expressed in it. The Emperor Adrian often gave this kind of dance to the People in the great Circus,

XIII. *Of dancing.*

XIV.

*The Pyrrhic dance.*

Spartian.

in vit. Adr.

Dion. Hal.

l. 7. c. 13.

cus,

cus, as well by men as women-performers, who were armed with swords of box instead of iron. Besides all these games, which were peculiar to the Circus, those called *the Trojan Games* were exhibited there, which were a kind of tournaments or carousals. The first Cæsars, affecting to derive themselves from Æneas Prince of Troy, often gave them to the People, in order to renew the remembrance of their origin. These games were celebrated by the children of the principal nobility, at the age of fourteen or fifteen. They had at their head him whom the Emperor had nominated *Prince of the Youth*, who was also of the same age. This title was usually given only to him who was considered as the Emperor's successor, or to one of his near relations. The Circus's were also used for hunting wild beasts, and even for representing sea-fights; though for the last there were particular structures, called *Naumachie*. Curious creatures, brought to Rome out of curiosity from all parts of the world, were shewn there: but the races, and especially those of chariots, were the principal and most usual games of the Circus.

Suet. in  
vit. Tib.  
Calig. &  
Claud.  
Suet. in  
vit. Cæs.  
Tac l. 11.

Suet. in  
vit. Claud.



## CHAPTER III.

- I. *Of the Scenic games, or games of the theatre.*  
 II. *Description of the theatres.* III. *Of dancing.* IV. *Of the masks of the actors.* V. *Of the mimes.* VI. *Of the pantomimes.* VII. *Of music.* VIII. *Of rope-dancers.* IX. *Of the games of the amphitheatre.* X. *Of the chase.*  
 XI. *Of fishing.* XII. *Excessive passion of the Romans for the Shews.*

I. **T**HE games called *Scenic*, because consisting principally of tragedy and comedy, were represented upon the theatre. This was a great edifice, not less magnificent and solid than the Circus, and still more adorned. It was composed of two parts, of which the one formed a semicircle and the other a square. The semicircular part of it was filled with benches, which rose one above another, upon which the Spectators placed themselves; and the square part which fronted it was called the scene or stage, on which the actors performed. It was raised five feet higher than the lower end of the semicircular part, which was called the *Orchestra*, in which were the most honourable seats. The spectators were exposed in it to the injuries of the weather; but to prevent that, it sometimes happened during the Commonwealth, and often enough under the Emperors, that the theatre was covered with cloths, sustained by poles and strained cords. Though the Romans had learnt from the Greeks the manner of building their theatres, the distribution of them was however different. Those magnificent theatres were not erected so soon as the Scenic games were introduced at Rome: they

they were not built till long after, as well as the structures for the other Shews. For when the public games were first exhibited, it was in Tac. l. 14. the Forum, where the spectators stood. After- Val. Max. l. 2. c. 4. wards edifices of wood were erected; and when the games were over, they were taken down, and the work served for other representations. C. Flaminius was the first that built a theatre of stone, in the 599th year of Rome, for the representation of comedies and tragedies. They multiplied there afterwards as well as the Circus's, Amphitheatres, and *Naumachiæ*. As to these last structures, their number was not so great as that of the rest. The Emperors sometimes took the occasion of these Shews, at which they were present, to dispence extraordinary liberalities amongst the People, by causing billets to be thrown amongst them, each marked with a lot, which was punctually delivered to the bearers of them. Marcus Aurelius, in effect Vopisc. in vit. Aurel. of his regard for the Roman people, caused handkerchiefs to be distributed to them in the theatre, to wipe the sweat off their faces, and to express their applauses. The Scenic games were intermixed with dances, as making a part of the worship of their Divinities: \* dancing itself III. Of dancing. Val. Max. Dion. Hal. l. 7. c. 13.

\* ————— (Liciniæ)

Quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris,  
Nec certare joco, nec dare brachia,  
Ludentem nitidis virginibus *sacro*  
*Dianæ celebris die.* Hor. L. II. Od. xii.

*Licinia fair, the pride of Rome,  
How well her charms and arts become!  
How movingly her beauty pleads,  
When toying she and richly drest,  
At great Diana's solemn feast,  
Begins the dance, and leads the beauteous maids.*

Creech.

being peculiarly annexed to the worship of some of them. It was most practised at these festivals and public Shews; for the Romans gave no balls, and only sent for dancers by profession of both sexes, to divert them during their entertainments; but the guests had no share in those dances. The Shews and ceremonies of religion served them instead of our ordinary pleasures.

**Liv. l. 7.** The games of the theatre began amongst the Romans by a kind of dramatic poem, more filled with gross buffooneries, than good pleasantries, which they called *Fescennine verses*, and in which there was so little art, that the people were disgusted with it as soon as a very imperfect theatrical piece appeared. **Val. Max. l. 2. c. 4.** Livius Andronicus, born in Greece, composed and caused it to be represented at Rome the 514th year from its foundation, a time when the Romans began to conceive a taste for the sciences, and to soften the roughness of their manners. Though the comedies and tragedies of the antients have contributed much to the improvement of those of our age, we must not however imagine, that there is not a great difference between them, as well in respect to manners and customs, as the manner in which they were represented. Several treatises have been published some time since upon the theatres of the antients, to which the curious may have recourse: it suffices to observe here, that the actors both of comedy and tragedy used masks upon the stage, which were not made like those used in these days. They were entire heads larger than the life, with which they covered their own as with an helmet, and under which they could speak without difficulty. We must also observe that they

IV.  
Actors  
masks.

they also had actors unknown amongst us, whom they called mimes and pantomimes. The former represented every kind of actions without speaking, only by gesture, and played interludes to divert the spectators, whilst the actors either rested themselves, or were otherwise employed. The pantomimes also played mute interludes; but with this difference, that they counterfeited all things by the motion of the body in dancing. Thus the Scenic games were of different kinds, tragedy, comedy, satire, mimes and pantomimes.

The first actors who appeared at Rome were only players of farces or strollers, and dancers or tumblers, from Hetruria. They were indebted to their knowledge of the Greek theatre for their taste of good comedy, and comedians to represent it. These Shews, which till then were very gross and void of art, were scarce inferior to those of the Greeks, amongst whom the authors of dramatic pieces were often the principal actors in them; the profession of an actor having nothing dishonourable in it in their sense, and not excluding them from the great offices of the State. It was not the same amongst the Romans; every citizen was prohibited to mount the stage. It was not only a matter of exclusion from the offices of the Commonwealth, but an action that merited correction, and for which the Cenfor would not have failed to remove the culpable from his tribe. Under the Emperors indeed this law was not always observed with so much strictness as under the Commonwealth: for Suetonius tells us, that Augustus sometimes employed Knights in the representation of comedies. However, as the extreme

V.  
*Mimes.*  
Suet. in  
vit. Vesp.  
Tac. l. 14.

VI.  
*Pantomimes.*

S. Aug. de  
Civ. Dei.  
l. 2. c. 13.

Suet. in  
vit. Aug.  
Tac. l. 43.



Tac. Ann.  
l. i.

extreme taste, which the young Nobility had taken for the Scenic games, was observed afterwards to have made them such great admirers of good actors, that they took pleasure in imitating them, and induced them to associate themselves with them in a manner little suitable to their rank ; a regulation was made under the Emperor Tiberius, to prohibit all Senators from going to the houses of comedians, and all Knights from appearing in the streets of Rome with them.

VII.  
Music.

The manner of repeating dramatic poems accompanied with flutes and other instruments, and the measure, *or notes*, observed in pronouncing them, occasioned music's becoming an essential part of them. Their instruments of music, though almost all of them either string or wind-instruments, were however different from ours. We do not find that the music of the Romans, which they had borrowed from the Greeks, consisted of different parts ; and it seems probable that it was only unison, or full chorus. Neither had they the use of notes ; which were not invented till the eleventh century by *Guido d'Arezzo*, to supply which they made use of a series of tones and semi-tones, to

Note 5. in  
Od. 9. l. 5.

which they gave different names. F. Sanadon maintains, that all that relates to the harmony of the antients is sufficiently explained ; and refers to Mr. Wallis's Tract at the end of his edition of Ptolomy in 1682, intitled, *Appendix de Vetterum Harmonia ad hodiernam comparata*. That learned commentator maintains against Mr. Dacier, that the music of the antients is not entirely lost, and that the theory of their different species of music is perfectly known. Mr. Burette has several memoirs, which clear up this matter,

ter, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and *Belles Lettres*.

The Romans also brought buffoons on their stage who performed singular tricks: they called them *Præstigiatores*, because they in reality did such surprizing things, as seemed of the nature of magic and conjuration. If we may believe not only Pliny, but some of the fathers of the Church, those who follow the same business in these days are mere bunglers and novices compared with them. There were some of these jugglers, who by the help of certain machines flew in the air, and others, who taught wild beasts to shew tricks. In the time of the Emperor Nero, elephants were seen at Rome that walked and danced upon the rope; others that had been taught to dance the Pyrrhic dance, which as we have said before was a military dance; and some, which holding swords in their trunks, fought with each other after the manner of gladiators. They had also rope-dancers. It is quoted as an instance of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius's humanity, that being one day at the theatre when a rope-dancer unfortunately happened to fall, he ordered mattresses to be placed underneath. From thenceforth care was taken to spread a net under the cord to prevent those who fell from receiving any damage.

Dio Cass.  
l. 60.  
Suet. in  
vit. Galb.

VIII.  
Rope-  
dancers.  
J. Capit.  
in vit M.  
Aur.

The tumblers and mountebanks became so common at Rome, that they sold their mirth in the market-places, and played tricks to draw people together: but it was not till after Rome was become the mistress of the world, that these kind of people abounded there. Most of them were strangers, and almost all of the East;

East; that country having always produced more than any other.

IX.  
Of the  
games of  
the am-  
phitheatre.

Cassiod.  
l. 5. Ep.  
42.

As to the games of the amphitheatre, they were either chaces, combats of gladiators, of wild beasts, or of men that fought with them. These last combats were different; for there were gladiators, who attacked them at once with their arms, without any other precaution; and in consequence it often happened that these either came off very much hurt, or perished. Others less rash employed art, and had recourse to various stratagems for avoiding the first fury of those beasts, and finding a favourable occasion to wound them with less danger. For this purpose some made use of great globes of osier, which they rowled before them; others had great bucklers of osier, stuck with the points of reeds, which pricked those beasts when they came furiously to bite and tear the combatants to pieces with their teeth, who lying dexterously upon the ground under this buckler, wounded them with security. They had also other stratagems, which shewed their address, and gave the spectators more diversion. The places where these shews were exhibited, were not the same as those where the Scenic games were represented. They were called amphitheatres, because the form of these vast edifices was like that of two theatres joined together; for they were generally oval within and without. However that called *Colliseum*, which was the largest at Rome, and was capable of containing four-score and seven thousand spectators, was round without and oval within. The midst of this edifice, which was called *Arena*, from the sand which care was taken to strew there for the convenience of the combatants, was surrounded with

with a wall or kind of key from the height of twelve to fifteen feet, in which vaulted places were contrived, wherein the wild beasts, intended for the shews, were kept. Above this wall rose the benches, one above another, on which the spectators sat, and which run quite round the whole circumference to the top, but there were separations to mark the different stories and distinguish the places. The first row or bench was the place of the Emperor, the Senators, and the Vestals; and lest the wild beasts, as tigers, leopards, and bears, might climb up to it, or be thrown into it in fighting, the whole circumference of this first row was covered with cross bars to secure the spectators from the beasts; and for their greater security, at the bottom of the wall quite round the *arena* there was a canal full of water, in order that the beasts might not approach it. The facility which this canal afforded of laying the whole bottom of the amphitheatre under water, occasioned its being sometimes used for the representations of sea-fights, as in the *Naumachiæ*. Combats of the same kind were sometimes exhibited in the great Circus, in effect of the canal that surrounded it; which was the reason that there were not so many *Naumachiæ* erected at Rome, as Amphitheatres and Circus's.

Wild beasts of different species were made to fight there with one another, or with men who were commonly either gladiators, or criminals condemned to be executed in that manner. If they came off victorious, they were acquitted of their crimes. There were also persons, who hired themselves for these combats, and others who out of mere ostentation of their strength and address, offered themselves voluntarily.

The



X.

*Hunting.*Suet. in  
vit. Tit.  
J. Capit.  
in vit.Gordion.  
Vopisc. in  
vit. Prob.  
Spart. in  
vit. Adr.

The chaces, or hunting, in the amphitheatre, were a diversion given the people, and one with which the Emperors often gratified them: for every one that thought fit was suffered to enter the *Arena*, and to kill the game turned into it for that purpose, as wild-boars, stags, and deer, and to carry them off. This hunting pleased the Roman citizens more than that in the forests, to which they were indifferent enough during a considerable length of time. For it appears that they did not conceive a taste for it, till their intercourse with the Greeks, who took great delight in it; nor do the Romans seem much given to it however, except under some Emperors, who loved that sport. It is something extraordinary, that being so fond as they were of the exercises of the body, they should not have more taste for hunting. The manner of it amongst the Romans was the same as amongst the Greeks, from whom they had learned it. They hunted the great game, that is to say, stags, wild-boars, roe-bucks, and fallow deer, with dogs, and the huntsmen had the pleasure of chasing them on horseback, and of killing them with darts and javelins, or shooting them with bows and arrows. They also followed this chase \* with nets, with which they formed an inclosure, and drove the prey into it

\* Aut trudit acres hinc & hinc multa cane  
Apros in obstantes plagas.

*Hor. Ep. 2.*

*But when the blast of winter blows,  
And hoary frost inverts the year,  
Into the naked woods he goes  
And seeks the tusky boar to rear.  
With well-mouth'd hounds and pointed spear;*

*Then drives the foaming savage to the toils,  
And glories in his spoils.*

*Dryden.*  
with

with dogs, whom the huntsmen sustained on foot, armed with javelins, darts, and swords, which they used for killing it, when, by the help of the dogs, they could come near enough. It is observed that the swords used for hunting, were much longer than those for war. They used also dogs for coursing, and had others also for driving the hare into the nets. Their usual manner of taking the game, consisted in different kinds of snares with nets and gins. Birds were principally taken with the latter; and sometimes they shot the largest flying with the bow and arrow. No author mentions, that hawking was in use amongst them.

Fishing was also a diversion, for which they seem to have had more taste than for the chase; which might proceed from their not believing, that they ate well if they had no fish. It was for this reason that their country houses were not esteemed, except well supplied with reservoirs \* of water for fish; besides which ornaments of water are highly esteemed in hot countries. In their country-houses situate near the sea, the salt-water was brought into reservoirs, where they also preserved sea-fish. Their manner of fishing was with nets, and the line.

But to return to the Shews of the Romans: they borrowed most of them from the Greeks, and only augmented and retrenched some things from them, to adapt them to the taste and genius of their nation. Their natural inclination for them growing stronger by habit, made them at

\* ————Undique latiùs

Extenta visentur Lucrino

Stagna lacu. ————

Hor. L. II. Od. xv.

*New moats are dug, large ponds we make  
That rival e'en the Læcrine lake.*

Creech.  
length

Juv. Sat.  
10.

XII.  
*Excessive  
passion of  
the Ro-  
mans for  
the shews.*  
Tac. l. 14.

length so passionate for these diversions, that under the Emperors the People of Rome required nothing but bread and shews, principally those of the Circus and Amphitheatre. Though we might believe this inclination was natural to them, if we go back to the first games celebrated by their founder Romulus, by the help of which the rape of the Sabines succeeded: however the moderation, which authors remark they retained for these amusements during upwards of four ages, in which they were indeed employed in continual wars, might give room to believe, that the excessive passion which they expressed in the sequel for Shews, proceeded only from the idleness of the inhabitants of that great city, after it was become the mistress of the world, and at the same time from the bad example of some of her Emperors, who were fond of them to madness. All these amusements, which propagated the idleness of the People, only enervated their bodies, corrupted their minds, and made them degenerate from the valour of their ancestors. It is observed in consequence, that from the time these Shews became so common, the inhabitants of Rome were no longer so fit to make soldiers as before; and that when they came to serve, they were found to be the worst troops of the empire. This was first perceived at the battle of Pharsalia, in which the army of Pompey, composed chiefly of Roman citizens, could not stand their ground against Cæsar's soldiers. And that degeneracy only increased afterwards.

CHAPTER IV.

- I. *Of the Apotheosis.* II. *Of funerals.* III. *Incombustible cloth.* IV. *Of sepulchres.* V. *Of the tombs called Hypogea.* VI. *Of mourning.* VII. *Of Gladiators.* VIII. *Discharge or exemption of Gladiators.* IX. *Gladiators made free.* X. *Gladiators that served in the army.*

FROM the time that the Romans, through an excess of flattery, placed their Emperors in the number of the Gods, their Apotheosis became one of the most pompous ceremonies of their religion. I. *Of the Apotheosis.*

The first of the Romans, who was ranked in the number of the Gods after his death, was Romulus: but he was obliged for that in a great measure to the oath of the Senator Julius Proculus, who affirmed that he saw him ascend to heaven. He invented this circumstance to cover the assassination committed by the Senators, who could not support the rigid manner, with which that Prince governed them, and to prevent the People, who loved him, from avenging his death.

From the time of Romulus till that of Augustus Cæsar, the Romans had no thoughts of the Apotheosis; when the latter took it into his head to revive it in the person of Julius Cæsar his father by adoption, with all the ceremonies observed afterwards, which Herodian relates at large, on the occasion of the Apotheosis of the Emperor Severus. I shall join the account of that historian, with what other authors tell us upon the same head. Augustus then



was the first who instituted it; and Tiberius established it in favour of the Emperors only: the Empreſſes alſo had the ſame privilege afterwards.

The first thing that was done, was to cauſe this conſecration to be authorized by a decree of the Senate, which placed the Emperor in the number of the Gods, and ordained that temples ſhould be built, ſacrifices offered, and divine honours paid to him. The Prince who ſucceeded to the empire generally took care to cauſe theſe laſt honours to be rendered to his predeceſſor. Herodian deſcribes the Apotheoſis as a feſtival, wherein mourning, joy, and worſhip had place. For aſſoon as the Emperor was dead, the whole city went into mourning; the body was interred in the uſual manner, but with abundance of pomp, and a figure of wax, which perfectly repreſented the deceased, with a pale viſage, as if he was ſtill ſick, was laid upon a bed of ivory, covered with cloth of gold, in the porch of the palace. The Senate in mourning robes continued on the left ſide of the bed during great part of the day; and on the right were the ladies of quality, married and unmarried, in large white robes quite plain, without jewels on their necks or arms. The ſame order was obſerved ſeven days together, during which the phyſicians approached the bed from time to time, as if to conſider the ſick prince, and found him perpetually declining, till at laſt they declared him dead. Upon that the moſt illuſtrious of the Roman Knights and the junior Senators carried him upon their ſhoulders thro' the ſtreet, called the *Via Sacra*, to the old *Forum*, where a painted alcove of wood had been erected. The Emperor and magiſtrates

ſate

Herod.

l. 4.

Dio Caff.

l. 56.

state down in the open place, and the ladies under the porticos, whilst choirs of musicians sung the praises of the deceased. After the Emperor had pronounced the elogium of his predecessor, the bed with the figure upon it was carried out of the city into the field of Mars in the following order. The march began by those, who carried the statues of all the illustrious Roman captains from Romulus ; after which came the figures of the provinces subject to the Roman empire, represented in bronze. The images of those who had rendered their names famous by their virtue or learning followed. Then the Knights and Roman soldiery marched under arms ; followed by a great number of race-horses, and the presents made by the provinces, cities, and persons of distinction to adorn this solemnity, most of which consisted in spices, odours, and perfumes. The soldiers carried an altar covered with ivory, and adorned with gold and jewels. The Emperor who succeeded, followed the bed of state to the field of Mars, where the funeral pile had been prepared. It was of timber, in the form of a pavilion of four or five stories gradually diminishing like a pyramid to the top. The inside was full of combustibles, and the outside covered with cloth of gold, compartments of ivory, and fine paintings. Every story was in the form of a portico, supported with pillars ; and on the top was represented the gilt chariot used by the defunct Emperor. This is still to be seen on the medals struck on the occasion of this kind of ceremonies. Those who bore the bed of state wherein lay the wax-figure of the deceased Emperor, delivered it into the hands of the Pontiffs, who placed it on the second story of this pile ; and

round the bed all sorts of perfumes, odours, fruits, flowers and fragrant herbs were laid in heaps. After this all the horse, who had been prepared for this solemnity, rode in a certain order in rings, observing a kind of time resembling that of the Pyrrhic dances. These are Herodian's words, that is to say, that they formed a kind of tournament or carousal. Chariots were made to run also in the same order, whose drivers wore purple robes, and in which were the images of the Emperors, whose reigns had been happy, and of the generals of great fame.

When all this pomp was passed, the new Emperor with a torch in his hand went and set fire to the pile, as the principal magistrates did also on all sides. The flames soon seized so many combustibles ; at which time an eagle was let fly from the top of the structure, if an Emperor was consecrated ; or a peacock, if an Empress ; which flying up in the air in the midst of the flames and smoke, went, as the people believed, to carry the soul of the late Emperor, or Empress, to heaven. From thenceforth they had their altars and worship like the other Gods.

It must be observed, that though Herodian speaks only of the figure of the Emperor, Dio Cassius tells us, that his body was upon the same bed, but without being seen. The first historian says, that the corpse was burnt before ; but the second describing the Apotheosis of Augustus, affirms, that there was a bed of gold and ivory with a purple covering enriched with gold, in which was the body of Augustus, that was not seen, and that his statue was placed upon this bed.

Dio Cass.  
l. 56.

The

The Apotheosis being only a sequel of the funeral, we ought to have spoke of the latter first: but such details would have interrupted the plan we proposed to ourselves in this work, which was, not to separate matters relating to the same subject, in order to the reader's forming more clear and less confused ideas of it.

Few nations ever were more religious and exact in paying the last duties to their relations and friends, than the Romans. They omitted nothing, that might express how dear the memories were to them, and contribute at the same time to render them honourable. This was an acknowledgment of the services rendered their country, or an homage paid to virtue, in order to excite their fellow-citizens to deserve the same honours by their great actions. Pliny says, that funerals were sacred ceremonies amongst the Romans. They began from the moment the person had breathed his last. At that instant, it was necessary that the nearest relation, or if married, that the survivor, husband or wife, should give the dying person the last kiss; as if to receive their soul, and that he or she should close their eyes. The same hand opened them II. Funerals. Plin. l. i. c. 37. also upon the funeral pile, in order that they might seem to look up to heaven. They took care also, in closing their eyes to shut also their mouths, to render them less ghastly, and to make them seem like one sleeping. The deceased's ring was also taken off, which they put on again, when the body was laid upon the pile. They called him often by his name with a loud voice, to know whether he was really dead, had fainted, or was seized with a lethargy. They afterwards applied to the undertakers



(*Libitinarii*) to perform the funerals, according to the will of the deceased if he had directed any thing upon that head, or that of the heirs and relations, at more or less expence as they thought fit. These *Libitinarii* sold and supplied all that was necessary in solemnizing funerals. They were so called from having their magazine at the temple of Venus *Libitina*. In that temple were kept the registers of those who died in Rome; and it was from them that the number of persons, who were swept off by the plague one autumn in Nero's reign, was taken. These undertakers had people under them called *Pollinctores*: the corpse was first put into their hands, which they washed with hot water, and embalmed with perfumes. They must have known the manner of embalming to a much higher degree of perfection even than the Egyptians, if we may believe accounts of some tombs discovered at Rome about two hundred years ago, in which bodies were found so well preserved, that they might have been taken rather for persons asleep, than dead; but that the smell which came from those tombs was so strong, that it struck people down. It is conjectured that these bodies were embalmed with a mixture of myrrh or aloes and turpentine. After the body had been embalmed in this manner, it was dressed in the common white habit, that is to say, the *Toga*. However, if the deceased were a person who had passed through the great offices of the Commonwealth, the robe of the highest dignity he had possessed was put on him, and he was kept in that manner seven days, during which all that was necessary for the pomp of the funeral was prepared.

Plut. Qu.  
Rom. 23.

Id. 26.

pared. The body was exposed in \* the porch Plin. l. 16.  
 or at the entrance of his house, in a bed of c. 33.  
 state with the feet towards the door, where a  
 cypress was placed for the rich, and for others  
 only branches of pine, which also denoted that  
 a corpse was there. A man also continued with  
 the body, to prevent any thing about it from  
 being stole: but when the deceased was a per-  
 son of the first rank, there were boys round it  
 to drive away the flies. After the seven days  
 were expired, a public herald proclaimed the  
 funeral as follows: *This is to give notice to all* Festus.  
*who desire to be present at the obsequies of such an*  
*one, the son of such an one, that they go to them*  
*directly; for the corpse is now bringing out of the*  
*house.* Only the relations or friends of the de-  
 ceased were present, unless the deceased had  
 rendered considerable services to the Common-  
 wealth, in which case the People attended the  
 funeral: and if he had commanded the armies, Dio Cass.  
 the soldiers repaired thither, reversing their arms l. 56.  
 with the points downwards; the Lictors also  
 reversed their fasces. The corpse was carried  
 on a little bed called *Exaphora*, when only six  
 carried it, and *Ostophora*, when eight. They Vell. Pat.  
 were usually the relations of the deceased, who l. 1. c. 12.  
 did this office in honour of him, or his sons, if  
 he had any. For an Emperor, the bed was Dio Cass.  
 carried by the Senators; and for a general, by l. 56.

\* Hinc tuba, candelæ: tandemque beatulus alto  
 Compositus lecto, crassoque lutatus amomo  
 In portam rigidos calces extendit.

*Perf. Sat. V.*

*Then trumpets, torches, and a tedious crew  
 Of hireling mourners, for his funeral due.  
 Our dear departed brother lies in state,  
 His clay-cold heels stretch'd out before the gate.*

Dryden.  
 officers

Festus,

Suet in  
vit. Vesp

Polyb. 1. 6.

Tac. l. 2.

officers or soldiers. As to the people of mean condition, they were carried in a kind of open bier by four men who got their living by that business. They were called *Vespillones*; because it was customary during a great length of time not to celebrate funerals till the evening: but in process of time they were celebrated by day as well as night. The visage of the deceased was uncovered, with a crown of flowers on his head; unless his sickness had entirely disfigured him, in which case care was taken to cover it. After the masters of the ceremony of the procession had placed each according to his rank, it began by the performers on the flute, who played a mournful air: they were followed by people carrying lighted \* torches. Near the bed was an Archimime, who counterfeited the behaviour of the deceased; and all the ensigns of the dignities he had enjoyed, were carried before the bed. If he had signalized himself in war, the rewards and crowns which he had received for his great actions were displayed, as well as the standards and spoils he had taken from the enemy. His busto was also † carried in wax, with those of his ancestors and kindred upon the end of spears or in chariots; unless he was one of those called *Novi Homines*, that is the first Nobles of their family, whose ancestors could do him no honour, which prevented their being shewn. It was also customary not to cause the bustos of those, who had been condemned for

\* Pers. Sat. III. loco posterius citat.

† — Funus atque imagines

Ducant triumphales tum.

Hor. Epod. 8.

And let triumphal statues grace

Thy funeral, born with solemn pace, to do for his crimes

crimes to be born on these occasions, though they had possessed dignities : that was not permitted. All these figures were afterwards set up again in the place, where they were kept, as we have related above. At the funerals of Em-<sup>Dio Cass. l. 56.</sup>perors, the images and symbols of the conquered provinces and cities were carried in chariots. The freedmen of the deceased followed this pomp, wearing the cap, which was the badge of their liberty. After them came his children, relations and friends dressed in black ; the sons had <sup>Plut. Qu. Rom. 14.</sup>veils on their heads, and the hair of the daughters hung loose : the latter had nothing on theirs, and walked barefoot dressed in white. After them came the *Præficæ* : these were women <sup>Festus.</sup>whose business it was to make lamentations for the death of the deceased, to sing his praises to mournful air weeping, and speak the sorrow of all the rest. When the defunct was an illustrious person, his body was carried to the *Forum Romanum*, where the procession stopped, whilst one of his children or nearest relations made his funeral oration. This was not only practised in respect to men, who had distinguished themselves in their employments, but ladies of condition also ; the Commonwealth having passed a decree to permit their being praised in public, from the time that, not being a sufficient quantity of gold in the public treasury to discharge the vow made by Camillus, to give a gold cup to Apollo of Delphi after the taking of the city Veii, the Roman ladies had voluntarily contributed their rings and jewels, as we have said above in speaking of coins. From the *Forum Romanum*, the corpse was carried to the place where it was either to be burnt or interred ; for that depended on what the deceased had



had directed by his will. If it were necessary they went to the field of Mars, where this ceremony was usually performed: for bodies were not burnt in the city. Care had been taken to erect a pile there of yew, pine, and other woods easy to set on fire, disposed upon each other in the form of an altar, upon which the corpse was placed dressed in his robes. They then sprinkled it with scented liquors proper to diffuse a good smell. The face was turned towards the sky, and a piece of money, which was commonly an *obolus*, put into the mouth, to pay Charon for passing the river Styx. The whole pile was next covered on all sides with cypress, when the deceased's nearest relations, turning their backs upon the pile, set it on fire with torches which they held behind them; and whilst the fire spread, they threw into it the habits, arms, and other things, in which the defunct had most delighted, and sometimes even gold and silver; but this was prohibited by the laws of the twelve tables. However at the funeral of Julius Cæsar, the veteran soldiers threw their arms into his funeral pile to do him honour. Oxen, bulls, and sheep were also killed and thrown into the pile; and soon after combats of gladiators were exhibited to appease the manes of the dead. The use of these combats was introduced to supply the place of a barbarous custom antiently practised in war, which was to sacrifice the prisoners round the funeral pile of those, who had died in battle, by way of avenging them.

Plut. in  
vit. Cæf.  
Dio Cass.  
l. 56.

The combats of the gladiators were not the only shews given on these occasions; chariot-races were sometimes ran round the funeral-pile; different theatrical pieces were represented there; and

and through an excess of magnificence feasts were given to the assistants and people: but the combats of gladiators were more common than those other shews. After the corpse was burnt, the ashes and bones not entirely consumed by the fire were gathered. The deceased's nearest relations or heirs took this care upon themselves, Dio Cass. l. 56. in order that his ashes might not be confounded with those of the pile. They used the precaution, in putting the body of the deceased upon Plin. l. 20. c. 1. the pile, to wrap it up in a species of cloth not combustible, which the Greeks called *Asbestos*. It came from the Indias, and it is said from III. *Cathay*. This cloth was made of thread spun Cloth not combustible from a kind of stone, which has the property of becoming white in the fire. The bones and ashes were washed with milk and wine, and were put into an urn of more or less value, according to the wealth or quality of the defunct, in order to be deposited in the tomb of the family: the most common ones were usually made of earth. The sacrificer, who had assisted at the ceremony, afterwards sprinkled the assistants three times with a sprinkler made of olive branches, in order to purify them. And lastly, the principal *Præfice* dismissed the company with saying, *I licet*, that is to say *you may now depart*; upon which the relations and friends of the defunct cried out three times, *Vale, vale, vale, Farewell*, calling him by his name, and adding these words, *Te ordine, quo natura permiserit, cuncti sequemur: We shall all follow you, in the course of nature, as it comes to our turns.* The urn in which the ashes were, was carried to the sepulchre, before which there was a little altar, whereon incense and other perfumes were burnt, a ceremony renewed from time to time, as

Herod. l. 4. as well as that of strewing \* flowers upon the tomb ; which was considered as an act of piety. Suet. in vit. Aug. As to those whose bodies were not burnt, they were commonly put into earthen biers or open coffins ; or, if they were persons of distinction, into a tomb of stone or marble, in which a perpetual lamp was placed, and sometimes little figures of the Gods, with small phials, called *Lachrymatoria*, because they contained the tears shed at their funeral : which was to shew, that they had been much lamented. In some tombs jewels which had been buried with the body have been found, because probably the deceased had been very fond of them in their life-time. All the lamps which have been found, immediately went out on the opening of the tombs they were in. The ceremony of a funeral concluded with a feast, which was usually a supper given to the deceased's friends and relations : and sometimes provisions were distributed to the people. Nine days after there was another feast called the great supper, or *Novendialis*. At this entertainment it was the custom to quit black, and to put on white robes.

Montfauc. Antiq.  
Liv. l. 8.

In the early times the Romans had burying places in their houses : but the laws of the twelve

\* *Dii majorum umbris tenuem & sine pondere terram  
Spirantesque crocos, & in urna perpetuum ver,  
Qui præceptorem sancti voluere parentis  
In loco* ————— *Juv. Sat. VII.*

*In peace, ye shades of our great grandsires rest,  
No heavy earth your sacred bones molest ;  
Eternal spring and rising flow'rs adorn  
The relics of each venerable urn,  
Who pious reverence to their tutors paid,  
As parents honour'd, and as Gods obey'd.*

Mr. Cha. Dryden.  
tables

tables prohibited the interring or burning bodies in the city. There were places without the walls allotted for burning the bodies of the common people, where it was done at little expence, and without so many ceremonies: For as to the rich, and persons who had passed through the great offices, they were always burnt in the field of Mars. The Vestals were the only persons, to whom the Commonwealth continued the privilege of being buried in the city; and if it was sometimes granted to others, it was very rarely, and then only to persons who had distinguished themselves by the great services they had rendered the State. The Emperors also assumed this privilege.

Though the custom of burning the dead was very antient amongst the Romans, as Plutarch, in the life of Numa Pompilius, tells us, that he forbade the burning of his body, we do not find however, that it was so common as it became afterwards: for the same Plutarch tells us, that Sylla was the first of the family of the *Cornelii*, whose body was burnt. And it was not till after his time, that is to say after the civil wars, that this custom began to grow general. But it lost ground very much from the beginning of the Christian Emperors, and was entirely abolished under the Emperor Gratian. After the laws of the twelve tables had prohibited interment in the city, the Romans placed their tombs upon their estates, or on the side of the great roads. The illustrious families, and those of distinction had particular ones, which served not only for them, but even their freedmen and the principal slaves of their house. It was sacrilege amongst the Romans to usurp or  
use



use the tomb of another family ; and a very considerable penalty was inflicted upon such as committed it.

IV.  
*Of sepulchres.*

These sepulchres were usually small structures built with brick or stone, wherein niches were cut all round, as in a dove-house, except that the niches were larger ; from which resemblance they were called *Colombaria*. In each of these niches two or three urns might be placed, over or under which the epitaph was engraved.

V.  
*Of the sepulchres called Hypogea.*

The great riches of the Commonwealth, in process of time, induced her to imitate the magnificence of the Greeks in this respect, and after their manner to build subterraneous tombs, which were structures composed of several chambers or apartments, called *Hypogea*, in which were also niches for the reception of sepulchral urns. These subterraneous apartments were adorned with paintings in fresco, Mosaic work, and figures in relief of marble, of infinitely greater value and expence than those of the sepulchres, commonly erected above ground ; as appears from those discovered near Rome some time since.

VI.  
*Of mourning.*  
Plut. in  
vit. Num.

We might have observed above, that black or very brown were the colours of the mourning habits worn by the men ; they were also common to the women. The mourning of the Emperors at first was black ; and in the time of Augustus, the ladies wore white veils, and the rest of their dress black on the same occasion :

Plut. Qu.  
Rom. 26.  
Herod.  
l. 4.  
Festus.

but from the time of the Emperor Domitian, they wore nothing but white habits, without any ornament of gold, pearls, or other jewels. The signs of mourning amongst the men were also to let their hair and beards grow, and to

wear no wreaths of flowers upon their heads, as long as it continued. The longest was only for ten months, during which a widow could not marry again, without incurring a note of infamy. As to children, they did not wear it for them when they died under the age of three; and for those between that age and ten, they mourned as many months as they were years old. The time of mourning was shortened on several occasions amongst the Romans. After the battle of Cannæ, the Commonwealth decreed that it should be worn only for thirty days, in order to forget their loss as soon as possible. There were also occasions that interfered with it in private families, as the birth of a child; when the family attained some peculiar distinction; on account of certain feasts in honour of the Gods; or the consecration of a temple. Festus.

The combats of the gladiators given in honour of the deceased to appease their manes, succeeded, as we have seen, to the antient barbarous custom mentioned in Homer, which was to sacrifice prisoners upon the tombs of those, who had been killed during the war. But as the people grew more civilized, they discovered the exceeding barbarity of this conduct, and to remove the appearance of cruelty in these sacrifices, obliged the prisoners of war to fight with each other round the tomb of him they intended to honour; and thus they formed a kind of games or shews, of which the cruelty was however no less real. The first kind of gladiators that appeared, had this origin: but in proportion as it was perceived that people took pleasure in these fights, different species of them were invented; for there were twelve sorts of VII.  
*Gladiators.*

of gladiators, who took their names either from the arms with which they fought, or the different kinds of combat to which they were destined. There were some who fought without defensive arms; some armed at all points; others only with the buckler; some fought on horseback and in chariots; and there were even some whom they obliged to fight blindfold. Industry afterwards found means to make these shews lucrative to itself in the persons of those who were called *Lanistæ*, into whose hands the prisoners intended for these fights were put, to be taught how to use their arms well, and to exercise them in these combats, in order to make them the more entertaining to the spectator. These *Lanistæ* bought strong and robust slaves, whom they prepared for these exercises, and obliged them to fight. It was to these masters such applied as desired to exhibit gladiatorial shews, who after having agreed upon the price, furnished a proportionate number of pairs of gladiators, because they always fought by pairs. In process of time, the principal persons of the Commonwealth had gladiators of their own, whom they used when they gave games to the people, and sometimes on occasions wherein they thought proper to employ force. Julius Cæsar had a number sufficiently considerable of his own, before he was Emperor. The Roman people were so fond of these combats, that the Commonwealth, by the law *Tullia*, prohibited the citizens that stood for offices to exhibit these shews to the People; apprehending, that by the means of them they might gain their favour and suffrages, to the prejudice of the other candidates. They pleased so much, that they were also admitted on occasions of rejoicing,

Suet. in  
vit. Cæs.

Plut. in  
vit. Cæs.

joicing, as after some victory, or when the Emperor was desirous to conciliate the favour of the People. In a word, this phrenzy rose so high, that in solemn feasts, pairs of them were brought into the eating-rooms: but at such times they used blunt weapons; because what they did, was only to divert the guests during the entertainment by the address and agility which they shewed in fighting. These gladiators were called *Samnites*, from being armed after the manner of that People. The inclination most of the Emperors had for these sanguinary games, did not a little contribute to render the use of them more frequent.

The first Shew of gladiators exhibited at Rome, was in the 490th year from its foundation, in the Consulship of Ap. Claudius and M. Fulvius. At first it was the custom to exhibit them only at the funerals of the principal magistrates and Senators. Afterwards, in imitation of them, they were given at those of private persons, who sometimes directed by their wills, that there should be combats of gladiators in their funeral solemnity: they were even used at the funerals of women.

The profession of gladiator was always reputed infamous, though some of the Emperors were so depraved as to exercise it themselves, as Commodus did. Nero also compelled the principal persons of the Empire to practise it, having made six hundred Knights, and four hundred Senators, appear in the amphitheatre of Rome, whom he obliged to fight either with each other, or with wild beasts. There were some indeed of these two principal Orders of the Empire, who were mean enough to offer voluntarily to fight as gladiators upon the arena,

A a

through

Val. Max.  
l. 2. c. 4.

Suet in  
vit Neron.

Dio Cass.  
l. 55.



through a shameful complacency for the Prince. It was in these times that this madness became so much in fashion, that the Roman \* ladies were seen to exercise the same function voluntarily, and to fight in the amphitheatre with one another, or with wild beasts, valuing themselves on shewing their intrepidity and address there. Juvenal, in his sixth Satire, blames this phrenzy of the Roman ladies of his time, and tells us that the gladiators were permitted to make their wills: it is probable that he means those, who after having obtained their liberty, voluntarily fought again: for no slave was allowed to make his will.

It is necessary therefore to distinguish two kinds of gladiators; those who were so against their will, as slaves and prisoners of war destined to this profession; such as were condemned to it by way of punishment; and those who though free, followed it voluntarily, either through the degeneracy of the times, or the extreme indigence to which they were reduced, that determined them to take up the trade, like the slaves who were gladiators, and having

\* Endromidas Tyrias, & scæmineum ceroma  
 Quis nescit? vel quis non vidit vulnera pali?  
 Quem cavat assiduis sudibus, scutoque laceffit,  
 Atque omnes implet numeros; dignissima prorsus  
 Florali matrona tuba: nisi si quid in illo  
 Pectore plus agit, veræque paratur arenæ.

Juv. Sat. VI.

*They turn virago's too; the wrestler's toil  
 They try, and smear their naked limbs with oil:  
 Against the post their wicker shields they crush,  
 Flourish the sword, and at the plastron push.  
 Of ev'ry exercise the mannish crew  
 Fulfil the parts, and oft excels us too;  
 Prepar'd not only in feign'd fights t'engage,  
 But rout the gladiators on the stage.*

Dryden.

obtained

obtained exemption and even their liberty, still followed this profession voluntarily.

The gladiators generally appeared upon the *Suet. in arena* by pairs, that formed so many single *vit. Caf.* combats. As soon as one of them was wounded, the People did not fail to cry out immediately, *he has it*: and if the wounded combatant laid down his arms that moment, it was a sign that he declared himself conquered: but his life depended on the spectators, or on the person who presided at those games. However, if the Emperor arrived at that instant, it was usual enough for him to save his life: but if he recovered of his wound, That did not exempt him from fighting again in another Shew. The Roman people took too much pleasure in these games, to be spectators of them with indifference: and in consequence, when a gladiator fought bravely and was wounded, the people interposed for the preservation of his life; but on the contrary, if he behaved like a coward in the battle, they did not fail to demand his death. To signify that his life should be spared, the people *Juv. Sat. 3.* only held up one hand with the thumb bent, and to express that it was their will he should die, it sufficed to shew the hand with the thumb raised. The wounded gladiators knew so well That to be the signal of their destruction, that as soon as they perceived it, it was their custom to present their throats in order to receive the mortal stroke. Their bodies were removed from the *arena* with an hook. The rewards *Mart. de Spectat. Juv. Sat. 7.* given the victorious gladiators at first, were either a palm or money: but as it was usual for those who trafficked in gladiators, in order to augment their gains, to make those fight again in other Shews, who had already been victori-

VIII. *Discharge or exemption of gladiators.* Suet. in vit. Aug. ous, unless the people granted them an exemption called in Latin *missio*, Augustus decreed, that no gladiators should be made to fight for the future, except such of them as came off victorious, were granted this exemption; which was a licence not to fight any more, unless they thought fit. But he did not give them their liberty; to obtain which it was necessary to have been several times victorious. However, in time it became usual enough to give them their liberty and this exemption together. This enfranchisement was executed by the Prætor, by laying a knotty staff like that of crab-tree upon their heads, which staff was called *rudis*: but it only removed them out of the state of slavery, without giving them the quality of citizens. To this freedom a reward purely honorary, as an evidence of their bravery, was sometimes annexed: this was a garland or kind of crown of flowers mingled with ribbands, called *Lemnisci*, which was put on their heads: the ends of these ribbands hung down upon their shoulders, from whence those who wore this mark of distinction

IX. *Making free of gladiators.* Plin. l. 21. c. 3. Festus. were called *Lemnisci*. When they had obtained exemption, or liberty, and quitted the profession of gladiator, they went to offer their arms \* to Hercules, as to their tutelary God, and affixed them to the gates of his temple. The Empe-

\* ————— *Vejanius armis*  
*Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro;*  
*Ne populum extrema toties exoret arena.*

*Hor. Ep. I.*

*The fencer Vejan, now grown weak with age,*  
*Lives quietly at home, and leaves the stage,*  
*His arms in Great Alcides' temple plac'd,*  
*Left after all his former glories past,*  
*He, worsted, meanly begs his life at last.*

*Creech.*

ror

ror Antoninus Pius instituted a prize for the exercises of the gladiators. Pliny says, that immediately after fighting, water mingled with common wood-ashes was given them, to calm the too violent agitation of the blood. Gladiators were often used also in war, where they served as other troops. When Otho marched against Vitellius, he carried two thousand gladiators with him to serve in his army. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius took with him those of Rome to serve in the army against the Marcomanni. The inhabitants of the city complained of it exceedingly, saying, that it was plain he did not intend to give them any more games, as he had carried away the gladiators of the city to the army. The same had been done long before; for they had also been used in the civil wars of the Commonwealth and Triumvirates.

Spart. in  
vit Anton.  
Plin. l. 36.  
c. 27.

X.

*Gladiators  
serving in  
the army.*

Tac. l. 2.

Jul. Capit.

in vit. M.

Aurel.

Criminals were sometimes condemned to serve as gladiators, and to fight either with each other or with wild beasts. They were also condemned to be exposed to wild beasts, in order to their being devoured by them. This kind of punishment was usual enough under the Heathen Emperors, who often inflicted it upon the primitive Christians. These executions passed either in the Circus or Amphitheatre; and served by way of prelude to amuse and divert the spectators till the games began. Such a spectacle is too repugnant to humanity, not to give reason to think a people who made it their favourite diversion, to be of a cruel disposition; and, not to take the trouble to enquire whether much of this temper did not enter also into the extraordinary actions of the heroes of the Commonwealth, it cannot be denied, but that the Roman genius in general was inclined to cruelty.



Though the inhumanity of the games of the Amphitheatre may be palliated, by ascribing them to a spirit of policy, with a view of sustaining the martial disposition of the nation ; we must however confess, that, if they had not had such a propensity to cruelty, they could not have taken pleasure in seeing unfortunate persons torn in pieces by lions, tigers, and other wild beasts. Their history, when we attend to it, supplies abundance of circumstances, that sufficiently manifest this character. For though the introduction of the luxury and effeminacy of the Asiatics, and the commerce with the Greeks, had softened their manners, these innovations did not change their natural disposition, which was always perceptible, even amidst their diversions and voluptuousness. Though frequenting Athens had given birth to a passion for the arts and sciences amongst the Romans, and had rendered them civil and polite ; it is however observed, that they never came up to the affability and humanity, which formed the peculiar character of the Athenians. The sight of these inhuman Shews, which were so frequent that no day passed without them ; and the mixture of Barbarians, who incorporated themselves by degrees with the Roman people, and brought in their vices with them, did not a little conduce to support this sanguinary temper ; which Rome shewed early, and had habituated by the continual wars in which she was engaged during almost five hundred years. In consequence we ought not to be surprized, if the softness of the Asiatics, and the politeness of the Greeks, did not produce all the effect which might have been expected from them. Only the establishment of the Christian Religion could give them a sense

of the necessity there was for that mildness and spirit of charity, which are the soul of it, as it was not till the reign of Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, that the first stop was put to these bloody fights, of which the use was utterly abolished by the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius.

The establishment of the Christian Religion, and the removal of the seat of the Empire from Rome to the city of Constantinople, occasioned many changes of customs and manners, which I shall not pursue, having proposed to myself to extend this collection no farther than that period.

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